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**Techniques of expression in Viennese string music (1780-1830) : reconstructing  
fingering and bowing practices**

Moran, John Gregory

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**Techniques of Expression in Viennese String Music (1780-1830):  
A Reconstruction of Fingering and Bowing Practices**

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PhD

2000



## Abstract

Though Viennese classical music for strings is central to the standard repertory and is steadily attracting more performances by 'historically informed' players, awareness of the practices of the Viennese players amongst whom Haydn and Beethoven worked remains limited. Studies of the string playing practices ostensibly appropriate to Beethoven have generally been based on instrumental treatises representative of other traditions, either later in time or geographically remote. This thesis attempts to reconstruct the unique traits of the fingering and bowing practices surrounding Haydn and Beethoven in Vienna through the surviving evidence most closely connected with them and the players for whom they composed. The sources include Haydn's and Beethoven's string fingerings and slurs; the music of players with whom these composers were associated, including Krumpholz, Wranitzky, Schuppanzigh, Mayseder, the Krafts, and Linke; and the rarely considered technical studies and string treatises of Vienna, including those by Kauer, Pichl, Pirlinger, and Schweigl.

This thesis begins with a survey of the string players in the circles of Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, and especially Beethoven, discussing their significance and playing styles, contrasting Viennese practices with the more progressive approaches of Paris. The diversity of Viennese fingering practices forms the basis for the second chapter's examination of the wealth of information which can be conveyed by apparently simple fingerings. Haydn's and Beethoven's original fingerings, together accounting for approximately three hundred passages, are the subjects of chapters three and four. The fifth chapter considers tone production and the myth of the 'phrasing' slur in string writing, while the sixth is an investigation of what constituted the basic repertory of bow strokes. The final chapter, a case study of a set of marked parts to Beethoven's op. 59, no. 3 quartet, shows how the various methods of reconstruction developed in this thesis can be brought together in the context of a complete work.

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### **Note on translations and terminology**

Unless otherwise specified, translations are my own. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts are given with their original, at times irregular, orthography and punctuation. Cuts in such material are indicated by an ellipsis (...), while other alterations are indicated in square brackets.

Terminology is used as it is understood by string players. The term 'shift' is synonymous with 'position change' and means a movement of the left hand either up (towards the bridge) or down (towards the scroll) along the fingerboard from one hand position to another. Shifting can be done quietly or audibly. A shift which causes an audible glissando is called a 'slide'.

Standard string fingering practice is used in assigning numbers to the fingers: 1 = index finger; 2 = middle finger; 3 = ring finger; and 4 = little finger. '0' designates an open (unstopped) string or a harmonic, but can also, following contemporaneous practice, be used to indicate the thumb in cello fingerings, which is always clear from the context.

Pitch names follow the Helmholtz system, middle c = c', except when referring to the names of open strings, where upper case letters are used regardless of the octave of the note. Clefs in music examples match the clefs of the source, so generally treble clef in a cello part sounds one octave lower than notated. Special notice is given where cello parts in treble clef are to be read at pitch.

## Introduction

The past twenty years have witnessed a surge of interest in the performance of the string music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven by practitioners of the early music movement, but still little is known about the fingering and bowing practices of the group of players who first performed this music and for whom much of it was written. Performers and scholars have been happy to substitute the more copiously documented practices of the French school of the same period for those of the string players of Beethoven's Vienna. Starting in the late eighteenth century Viennese composers, working in direct contact with Vienna's best string players, began to show an unprecedented interest in exploiting string technique to amplify the expression in their music. The unique atmosphere of Vienna at this time permitted a free exchange of ideas between players and composers and left a significant corpus of string music with more explicit indications of fingerings and bowings than at any previous time. This thesis attempts to redress the gap in the literature by examining the extant sources with an eye towards reconstructing the practices of Vienna's players.

The significant interest in Viennese string music has generated a rich secondary literature and secured for this music a central position in the modern canon, but regrettably has thus far done little to encourage enquiry into the string playing environment into which this repertoire was born. There is, for example, no significant study of string quartet playing in Vienna in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. Some solid work has been done, mostly in German, on individual Viennese string players from the time, which does not, however, postulate detailed theories of how these men would have played.<sup>1</sup> A vast literature, concerned primarily with compositional style and process, exists on Viennese chamber music and string concertos, which is almost entirely devoid of discussion about how string players of the time might have played.<sup>2</sup>

Surprisingly, neither of these bodies of writing is much concerned with finding

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<sup>1</sup> The three most important Viennese violinists of Beethoven's time are each the subject of a doctoral thesis: Clemens Hellsberg, 'Ignaz Schuppanzigh (Wien 1776-1830): Leben und Wirken' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1979); Manfred Merk, 'Franz Clement (1780-1842)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1969); and Eugen Hellsberg, 'Joseph Mayseder (Wien 1789 bis 1863)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1955). Useful shorter studies exist on several Viennese players: Sonja Gerlach, 'Johann Tost, Geiger und Grosshandlungsgremialist', *Haydn-Studien*, 4 (1998), 344-365; Donald W. MacArdle, 'Beethoven and Schuppanzigh', *The Music Review*, 26 (Feb 1965), 3-14; Hermann Ullrich, 'Zur Ikonographie Ignaz Schuppanzighs (1776-1830)', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 32 (1977), 231-35; Robert Haas, 'The Viennese Violinist Franz Clement', *Musical Quarterly*, 34 (1948), 15-27; Marianne Kroemer, 'Geiger der Schubertzeit in Wien', in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, report of the 1974 conference at Vienna, ed. by Vera Schwarz, assisted by Roswitha Karpf, *Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis*, 4 (Munich: Katzbichler, 1981), pp. 97-104; Judith Helen Blinn, 'Anton Kraft: Cellist to Haydn and Beethoven' (unpublished master's thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, 1978); Stanislav V. Klíma, 'Violoncellista a Skladatel Antonín Kraft (1749-1820)', *Hudební věda*, 20 (1983), 167-176; Horst Walter, 'Haydns Schüler am Esterházy'schen Hof', in *Ars Musica, Musica Scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum fünfundsiebzehnten Geburtstag am 2. März 1980*, ed. by Detlef Altenburg (1980), pp. 449-454; and L. Zolnay, 'Miklós Zmeskál, Beethovens ungarischer Freund', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 8 (1966), 211-216.

<sup>2</sup> Even without considering articles and individual chapters the body of literature is enormous. Among the more significant full-length studies of topics in Viennese string music from the time of Haydn and Beethoven are: Paul Griffiths, *The String Quartet: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983); Wulf Konold, *The String Quartet, from its beginnings to Franz Schubert*, trans. Susan Hellauer (New York: Hinrichshofen, 1983); Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts, I Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts. Von den Vorformen zur Grundlegung durch Joseph Haydn* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974); Tilman Sieber, *Das klassische Streichquintett: quellenkundliche und gattungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Bern: Francke, 1983); Hubert Unverricht, *Geschichte des Streichtrios* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969); Alfred Wierichs, *Die Sonate für obligates Tasteninstrument und Violine bis zum Beginn der Hochklassik in Deutschland* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981); Reginald Barrett-Ayres, *Joseph Haydn and the String Quartet* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1974); Hans Keller, *The Great Haydn Quartets: Their Interpretation* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986); Dean Sutcliffe, *Haydn: String Quartets, Op. 50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Irving, *Mozart: The 'Haydn' Quartets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1966); Daniel K. L. Chua, *The 'Galitzin' Quartets of Beethoven: Opp. 127, 132, 130* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). Robert Winter, compiling a list of recent studies of the Beethoven quartets, none of which is concerned with performance practices, comes up with another ten titles in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 29.

connections between the music and the playing of the period. It is as if an unwritten understanding exists that this is abstract music, which must be examined only 'on its own terms'. Those whose starting point is the music rarely show interest in practical aspects of its performance and those whose starting point is the players are reluctant to show any strong ties between the music and how it was played. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that the music and its players did not have important influences on each other.

While reception history has advanced the perspective of the listener,<sup>3</sup> and performance studies have begun to take a look at the role of the performer in this era,<sup>4</sup> the link between composers such as Haydn and Beethoven and the string players with whom they worked the most has only begun to be investigated. Performance practice studies have made progress in investigating general issues such as tempo, rhythmic practice, and ornamentation, and much has been done to uncover keyboard playing practices and orchestral practices with specific regard to the repertoire of Vienna.<sup>5</sup>

Studies of string playing practices, however, have lagged behind. The sources examined are rarely Viennese and often significantly postdate Beethoven and Schubert, even though it is the Viennese repertoire of this

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<sup>3</sup> Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) takes a provocative view of how an audience, in this case the Viennese nobility, was able to play a critical role in shaping Beethoven's aesthetic values and radically to affect the course of Beethoven reception.

<sup>4</sup> George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Excellent bibliographies of performance practice issues in piano music and orchestral music respectively can be found in Sandra P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music, Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) pp. 487-96 and Thomas Drescher, 'Auswahl-Bibliographie zum Thema "Orchesterpraxis" (17. bis Mitte 19. Jahrhundert)' *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 17 (1993), 191-224.

period with regard to which the practices are most frequently being discussed.<sup>6</sup> This is partly a result of the state of extant sources; the most comprehensive descriptions of how to play string instruments written in this period come from French and north German authors, who were, broadly speaking, of the French school, such as Baillot, Kreutzer, Rode, Duport, Spohr, and Romberg, all of whom have been in one way or another associated with the music of Beethoven.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore the writings of these authors have resonance for current string players because many of the ideas they espouse are still enshrined in modern pedagogy. However, Beethoven's links to these players are tenuous, at best, compared with the long-term working relationships, during his artistic maturity, with various players in Vienna. Of course, the success enjoyed across Europe by the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven demonstrates the importance of the string playing practices of centres outside Vienna to this repertoire, but these were not the practices which faced Haydn and to an even greater extent Beethoven on a daily basis for most of their careers.

Knowing the history behind modern string playing is in itself valuable, and yet tracing these steps backwards to, say, practices contemporaneous with Beethoven, but by which he was not surrounded, is unlikely to cast as much light on the music as an awareness of the practices with which he would have been confronted. Much of what is written on the string playing practices of the late-eighteenth century onwards is written from a backward-looking, Darwinistic

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<sup>6</sup> Andreas Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels*, 2nd edn, rev by Hans Joachim-Nösselt, 2 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966-67), while not concerned with many details of performance practice, does devote more attention to Viennese players than current authors writing on violin playing of the period, so this study remains invaluable.

<sup>7</sup> The notable exception is K. Marie Stolba, *A History of the Violin Etude to about 1800* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), who examines Schweigl's 1786 treatise in some detail (pp. 121-28) and also takes a brief look at Pichl's various pedagogical compositions (pp. 208-14).

perspective. Treatises are studied which are clear evolutionary precursors to later approaches. Treatises whose ideas have filtered down to the present or which had significant influence on the practices of later players are privileged as important treatises. It is crucial to realize that the treatises which seem important when looking back, cannot universally describe the practices of their own time, and their validity in describing a given region is limited when the author is part of a school whose influence was not yet widely felt there.

The most important performance practice studies of string playing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tend to focus on sources which are remote from the practices of Vienna. Clive Brown's 1988 article is a fascinating look later into the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Robin Stowell's *Violin Technique in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*,<sup>9</sup> deals with the period 1760-1840, a period from which some of the music of greatest interest to violinists would include the Beethoven violin concerto and the quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. This book is built on the premise that this period 'confirmed the ascendancy of the French over the Italian violin school.'<sup>10</sup> While correct on one level, this oversimplification disregards the multiplicity of different practices and traditions which existed across Europe's diverse cultural landscape. If it is true that the French school, to the detriment of the Italian one, gained widespread following between 1760 and 1840, then it can also be inferred that at least until shortly before 1840 the Italian school still maintained some measure of prominence. Stowell's book is excellently researched and clearly

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<sup>8</sup> Clive Brown, 'Bowling Styles, Vibrato and Portamento in Nineteenth-Century Violin Playing', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), 97-128.

<sup>9</sup> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, Preface, p. ix.



organized. It examines the practices of the French school, some of whose prominent practitioners were not French, in careful detail, but it assumes rather rapid universal adoption of these practices, paying scant attention to the players of Vienna. This view discounts the persistence of the old Italian school in certain places, most notably in the playing of Paganini, and, as I will argue, in the players' practices of Vienna.

Though Viennese cellists receive a fair share of the attention in Valerie Walden's *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840*,<sup>11</sup> the only book published so far on the subject in English, once she begins discussing different issues of performance, the lines between the practices of different schools and regions become blurred. Walden's book is particularly valuable for its biographical information on Viennese cellists, especially Linke, who was previously rather neglected in the literature on cello playing. However, when she assesses fingering and bowing practices of her period, 1740-1840, rather than presenting opposing practices and trying to develop ideas about different schools, she synthesizes a too general approach from sources too disparate in time and place to be grouped into any single school. When she does present different viewpoints she usually fails to provide much perspective on the differences. Walden's own doctoral thesis on cellists' bowing practices between 1785 and 1839, the fruit of fastidious review of vast source material, respects the differences amongst various players and schools and is an invaluable aid in comparing the range of different approaches to

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<sup>11</sup> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

bowing among cellists.<sup>12</sup>

*Performing Beethoven*,<sup>13</sup> despite three chapters devoted to string music, fails to consider Viennese string playing of Beethoven's time in any depth. Two chapters devoted to the violin music are concerned with early editions and particularly clues to performance practices which might be gleaned from these editions.<sup>14</sup> Because these editions are from the late nineteenth century and later, it is impossible to know in what ways their editorial fingerings and bowings might be similar to the practices of Viennese violinists when these works were written. Even with players such as Jakob Dont (1810-1888), whose father played the cello in orchestral concerts organized by Beethoven, or Spohr's pupil, Ferdinand David (1810-73),<sup>15</sup> it is unclear to what extent their editions of Beethoven in the late nineteenth century could reflect practices of Vienna in, say, 1806, when the op. 61 violin concerto was written. The chapter on the cello sonatas,<sup>16</sup> though incorporating information on the playing of cellists Beethoven knew, Bernard Romberg (1767-1841), an acquaintance since Beethoven's youth in Bonn, and Jean Louis Duport (1749-1819), whom he met in 1796 in Berlin and for whom he wrote the two op. 5 sonatas, does not deal with

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<sup>12</sup> Valerie E. Walden, *An Investigation and Comparison of the French and Austro-German Schools of Violoncello Bowing Techniques: 1785-1839* (doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, 1993; Ann Arbor: UMI, 1994).

<sup>13</sup> Robin Stowell, ed., *Performing Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Clive Brown, 'Ferdinand David's Editions of Beethoven', in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 117-149 and Robin Stowell, 'The Violin Concerto Op. 61: text and editions' in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 150-194.

<sup>15</sup> According to Brown, Dont's fingered and bowed edition of the op. 61 concerto was published by Schlesinger of Berlin about 1880 and all of David's Beethoven editions (the violin sonatas, piano trios, string quartets, violin concerto, and a violin version of the cello sonatas) appeared about 1870 (pp. 120-21).

<sup>16</sup> David Watkin, 'Beethoven's Sonatas for Piano and Cello: Aspects of Technique and Performance', in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 89-116.

Viennese practices and sadly neglects the many cello fingerings Beethoven left in his music.

A study of performance practices can take on real meaning only when it is clear under what circumstances the practices discussed would have been applied. In this case the core repertoire is the solo and chamber music for strings written by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven between 1780 and 1830. Because this music is so rich in performance indications, for example fingerings by Haydn and Beethoven, it makes sense to begin looking for performance practices within the music itself, in the details that have mostly been ignored. The clues from the music itself can then be compared with clues from the music written by the string players for whom this music was written. The music of the players can be more virtuosic and tends to be conceived in a more instrumentally specific way and can be more transparent in providing information about its intended performance. For example, where Beethoven might have invented a theme in his head while taking a stroll and then developed it agonizingly on paper, a professional string player might have happened upon a theme while preluding on his instrument or might have worked out figurations on the instrument rather than on paper.

It seems reasonable that the more closely a practice can be associated with a given composer, or more specifically with a given piece of music, the more likely it is that the practice will be relevant to that composer or piece. It therefore makes sense to look for clues to practices as close to the goal repertoire as possible. The practices whose traces can be found in the music itself, such as the composer's own or sanctioned fingerings, then are particularly interesting. William S. Newman broke important ground in analysing composers' fingerings in his

article, 'Beethoven's Fingerings As Interpretive Clues',<sup>17</sup> which examines both keyboard and string fingerings. This article which first suggested to me the wealth of information that simple fingerings might convey uses a detective-like approach, asking questions about the possible reasons for each fingering, to find the most likely rationale behind a given fingering.<sup>18</sup> William Drabkin's excellent articles on Haydn's quartet fingerings and Beethoven's use of the open string show how central fingering can be to a composer's intentions.<sup>19, 20</sup> The method here owes a great deal to the work of Newman and Drabkin who both recognize that when composers do provide fingerings, which is after all not often, the valuable information latent in them repays the seemingly laborious effort required to analyse them thoroughly.

More broadly, several articles have achieved varying degrees of success associating specific string playing practices with particular composers.<sup>21</sup> Especially successful is Lewis Lockwood's investigation into Beethoven's engagement with cello technique for its specific focus on the music and the cellist for whom it was written and with whom Beethoven seems to have

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<sup>17</sup> *The Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982), 171-197.

<sup>18</sup> Newman's subsequent work on Beethoven's keyboard fingerings is laid out in William S. Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven: Playing His Piano Music His Way* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> William Drabkin, 'Fingering in Haydn's string quartets', *Early Music*, 16 (Feb 1988), 50-57 and 'Beethoven and the Open String', *Music Analysis*, 4 (1985), 15-28. Of related interest is Ian Parrott, 'Beethoven, the Cello and the Treble Clef', *The Music Review*, 46 (1985), 12-18.

<sup>20</sup> My own investigation of cello fingering practices surrounding Beethoven is John Moran, *Fingering in Beethoven's Cello Music: An Evaluation of Historical Sources* (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Though discussing violin music, the work of Robert Riggs concerns general questions of articulation and notation rather than specific violinistic issues, *Articulation in Mozart's and Beethoven's Sonatas for Piano and Violin: Source-Critical and Analytic Studies* (doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1987; Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987) and 'Mozart's Notation of Staccato Articulation: A New Appraisal', *The Journal of Musicology*, 15 (1997), 230-277.

consulted on specific aspects of cello playing.<sup>22</sup> Boris Schwarz's article on Schubert is successful for the same reasons,<sup>23</sup> whereas his frequently cited effort on Beethoven seems too concerned with establishing the strength of Beethoven's interest in the French school of violin playing when the extant sources only give weak support for this theory.<sup>24</sup> The topic of Mozart and the violin receives a very good introductory treatment in an article by Peter Walls,<sup>25</sup> where he combines information garnered from Mozart's violins and correspondence, iconography, surviving violin bows, and period treatises, to provide a three dimensional impression.

Because authors can write treatises for a variety of reasons—to instruct, to discredit the author's detractors, to establish credibility for the author's own positions and to enhance his status—it cannot be assumed that the instructions in treatises are straightforward descriptions of common or even exemplary practice. Several authors have considered the aftereffects of Leopold Mozart's violin tutor,<sup>26</sup> most perceptively Robin Stowell, who has taken into

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<sup>22</sup> Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Early Works for Violoncello and Contemporary Violoncello Technique', in *Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977, Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978) pp. 174-182 and 'Beethoven's Early Works for Violoncello and Pianoforte: Innovation in Context', in programme book for Boston Early Music Festival & Exhibition 1985 (Boston: Nimrod Press, 1985) pp. 142-145. The volume with Lockwood's 1978 article contains another interesting article on contemporaneous practice in playing Beethoven's string quartets, which, however, focuses more on tempo and other general issues than on string playing, Emil Platen, 'Zeitgenössische Hinweise zur Aufführungspraxis der Letzten Streichquartette Beethovens' in *Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977, Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978) pp. 100-107.

<sup>23</sup> Boris Schwarz, 'Die Violinbehandlung bei Schubert', in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, Report of the 1974 conference at Vienna, ed. by Vera Schwarz, assisted by Roswitha Karpf, *Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis* 4 (Munich: Katznbichler, 1981) pp. 87-96.

<sup>24</sup> Boris Schwarz, 'Beethoven and the French Violin School', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44 (Oct 1958), 431-47.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Walls, 'Mozart and the violin' *Early Music*, 20 (Feb 1992), 7-29.

<sup>26</sup> Albi Rosenthal, 'Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* Annotated by the Author', in *Mozart Studies*, ed. by Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) pp. 83-99. Less useful is Cherubini, Ralph, *Leopold Mozart's Violinschule as a Guide to the Performance of W. A. Mozart's Sonatas for Piano*

consideration how alterations in subsequent editions of the treatise might reflect changing attitudes.<sup>27</sup> It is critical to determine whether a text is primarily descriptive or, as is often the case, prescriptive so that its ideas can be viewed in the proper context. Most research into string playing practices focuses first on material outside the music, especially instrumental methods and instruction books, cobbling together a system of practices which are then applied to the music. This method is most useful when the instruction book used was written by the composer of the music under consideration, or, failing this, when it reasonably can be shown that the instructions in the method book mirror the wishes or expectations of the composer. Because Vienna produced no really thorough string treatises in this period and only a tenuous connection can be made between Vienna's prominent composers and the emerging French violin school, I prefer to view treatises as a secondary source to fill gaps in the knowledge and corroborate theories inspired elsewhere, but not to rely on treatises as the foundation of any hypothetical reconstruction of Viennese playing.

Written sources, which essentially represent only the software of string playing, can provide a wealth of information, and yet without a firm grasp of the actual instruments and bows, the hardware that players used, it is impossible to see the full picture. Unfortunately, instruments, which are working tools of the trade, are readily susceptible to alteration, for a variety of purposes, which is rarely well documented. Much writing on string playing has suffered from a

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*and Violin* (doctoral thesis, Case Western Reserve University 1976; Ann Arbor: UMI, 1978) which only looks at the first edition of the violin school and fails to consider how W. A. Mozart's ideas might have developed beyond this.

<sup>27</sup> Robin Stowell, 'Leopold Mozart Revised: Articulation in Violin Playing During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in *Perspectives on Mozart Performance*, ed. by R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) pp. 126-157.

failure to consider the hardware,<sup>28</sup> or from the current patchy state of knowledge regarding what types of bows and instrumental setups were in use in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even in work which has been careful to take hardware into account there has been a tendency to assume widespread adoption of modern-style bows and setups at an earlier date than a careful reading of the sources can support.<sup>29</sup> Until more research is done on the instruments, it is necessary not to assume too much, and to consider the full range of possibilities.

This thesis attempts to look at string performance practices from the perspective that neither expression nor technique can be seen isolated in a vacuum. Too often the early music movement has used reference to historical practice as a coverup for an unwillingness to come to terms with musical expressivity.<sup>30</sup> Technique must be seen as the physical means of realizing expression, while expression is seen as the artistic and artful deployment of technique. As in all musical performance, the definitions of the terms 'expression' and 'technique' are dependent on one another, because each relies on the other for its existence. Expression cannot be adequately conveyed without the requisite technique, and technique which is not expressive of anything is inadequate.

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<sup>28</sup> This is the case with Hans Sittner, 'Zur Tradition der Wiener Geigerschule', in *Violinspiel und Violinmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vera Schwarz ed (Wien: Universal Edition, 1975), pp. 133-41 and also with the theses cited earlier on Schuppanzigh, Clement, and Mayseder respectively: C. Hellsberg, Merk, and E. Hellsberg.

<sup>29</sup> Robin Stowell, 'Violin Bowing in Transition', in *Early Music*, 7 (Aug 1984), 316-327 serves as just one example.

<sup>30</sup> See for example Laurence Dreyfus, 'Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', *The Musical Quarterly*, (Summer 1983), 297-322 and Taruskin, Richard, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

For the purposes of this thesis, 'string music' refers to solo or chamber music written for bowed string instruments, primarily the violin, the cello, and the viola. The viola receives little independent attention, because at this time it was rarely submitted to great technical demands and its technique was considered identical to violin technique, with extremely few players specializing in its performance to the exclusion of the violin. The Viennese double bass, which plays little part in the core repertoire, poses its own unique set of problems which are treated in a study by Adolf Meier.<sup>31</sup> 'String music', then, includes music written for string quartets, quintets, duos, and trios, as well as chamber music with keyboard: duos for keyboard and obbligato violin or cello, piano trios and quartets; as well as concertos and other music for solo strings with accompaniment. The inclusive dates specified in my title, 1780-1830, are approximate and a period of time during which string playing in Vienna underwent a great deal of change. The idea, however, is to take a segment of time from Vienna's history once the 'classical' style has already been established, and once performers will have had an opportunity to adapt their practices to the style. These dates cover the entire time that Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert were actually based in Vienna, from Mozart's moving to Vienna in 1781 to Schubert's death in 1828, and are nearly the same as the dates of the most prominent Viennese player of this period, Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776-1830). Of course, numerous events before 1780, both inside and outside Vienna, played important roles in setting up the climate of Viennese string-playing culture. At the same time, some pertinent sources for understanding this period were created after 1830, so I will discuss events outside Vienna and outside my time

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<sup>31</sup> *Konzertante Musik für Kontrabaß in der Wiener Klassik*, 2nd edn (Munich: Katzschler, 1979).



frame, but only to the extent that they illuminate our picture of Viennese string playing within my time frame.

The term 'expression' needs a little more clarification. Perhaps the elusiveness of just what expression entails is one reason that discussion of expression has been relegated to last place recently, expression only coming into the discussion, if at all, after seemingly more concrete aspects of instrumental performance. When used with regard to string playing, the term 'expressive' often denotes a certain style of playing, perhaps the use of audible slides, frequent vibrato, or large ritardandi. However, this use of 'expressive' is misleading. Injudicious or excessive use of the most 'expressive' tricks in a string player's repertory quickly becomes tiresome, expressing little more than the performer's lack of imagination. Expression is not a matter of using certain technical or musical devices. Expressive playing is an approach wherein the player tries to convey something beyond what can be notated on paper and finds the best technical means to communicate intelligently various layers of meaning to the listener. The player seeks technical solutions which reinforce the musical meanings, both emotionally and structurally.

While generally eschewing conventional virtuosity, the string writing of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven is always instrumentally idiomatic, even where it might seem awkward. All three composers, as well as Schubert, played violin and viola competently, if not to the same standard that they played keyboard instruments, and it turns out Haydn and Beethoven showed an unusual degree of interest in experimenting with string technique, particularly with fingering practices. Furthermore, they all took advantage of opportunities to discuss their music with string players and, in the case of Beethoven, to receive feedback. It

has therefore seemed worthwhile to take a closer look at the practices which surrounded these composers and which could not have but affected the way the music was conceived and performed. The present study seeks to approach these issues on their own terms, focusing first on information contained in the music itself and second on sources close to the music, relying on sources outside the traditions of Viennese string playing only exceptionally. In general, recent literature on string performance practices has been prescriptive in tone, perhaps adopting the style of instrumental tutors, where the underlying assumption is that the reader is looking for the 'right' or 'authentic' way to play. The prescriptive approach and a desire for ready answers have led to distortions in the relative value given to different historical sources. The sources which are the closest to the music that interests us are not necessarily the ones which left the clearest instructions, so they have been paid scant attention. It is my aim as much as possible to be descriptive, trying to give an impression of what practices were current and thriving in Vienna, many of which are not necessarily appealing to current players or listeners. I present the material as a single body of information relevant to the history of the music. What to do with this information is up to individual players. I hope this historical information can serve as a springboard to more experimentation with a wider range of technical devices for players searching for different ways to expand the expressiveness in their playing. It is not my intention to tell performers what to do, but to supply them with some tools that might broaden their horizons.

## 1. The State of String Playing in Vienna (1780-1830)

### Virtuoso as Maverick

On 23 December 1806 in the Theater an der Wien Franz Josef Clement gave a concert for his own benefit which included his now notorious première of Beethoven's violin concerto, a work dedicated to him and written with specific regard for his unique strengths.<sup>1</sup> The critic for the *Wiener Tageszeitung* joined in the praise which was typical at this point in Clement's career: 'Especially Clement's proven art and charm, his strength and certainty on the violin, which is his slave, were received with resounding cheer.'<sup>2</sup> However, Franz Clement and this performance are today remembered for the seemingly frivolous way in which the piece was dispatched: according to some contemporaries he played his part from sight in the concert,<sup>3</sup> while also including on the programme a free

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<sup>1</sup> Beethoven's inscription in the autograph score reads: 'Concerto par Clemenza pour Clement'. Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1869-1870; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), p. 228, note 2. Though writing six decades after the event, Hanslick's direct contacts with surviving musicians from the Beethoven era and the next generation together with his extensive examination of documentary evidence make him a valuable fount of knowledge for this period. Schindler also states, the concerto 'is famous for its artistic peculiarities (use of short bow strokes, following the old Italian school of Tartini and Nardini, and predominant use of the highest positions).' (Felix Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* 3rd edn (Münster, 1860)/trans. as *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, Donald W. MacArdle ed. and trans. and Constance S. Jolly trans. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Faber and Faber, 1966; repr. Mineola, NY: Dover, 1996) pp. 135-6.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Man empfing besonders Klement's bewährte Kunst und Anmuth, seine Stärke und Sicherheit auf der Violin, die sein Sklave ist, mit lärmendem Bravo.' Quoted in Andreas Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels*, 2nd edn, rev by Hans Joachim-Nösselt, 2 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966) I, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Moser, II, p. 237

improvisation and a 'sonata' on a single string with the violin turned upside down.<sup>4</sup> Rarely mentioned are Clement's attributes which might have inspired Beethoven: his unequalled intonation in playing in high positions or his supreme bow control. Virtually forgotten now, not even dredged up by current authors discussing early nineteenth-century performance practices, is Clement's use not of a Tourte-style bow, but of a shorter, older Italian-style bow.<sup>5</sup> Stowell, aware of Clement's bowing style, but ignoring his specific use of a pre-Tourte-style bow, places much blame on Clement's bowing for the work's failure to find many advocates amongst violinists, but this theory neglects both Beethoven's having explicitly written the work with him in mind and the public's favourable reception to his playing at the time of the première.<sup>6</sup> The tragicomic picture of a violinist outfitted with a seemingly archaic bow, perhaps even playing in an outmoded manner, more interested in showing off than giving a masterpiece its due, has discouraged deeper investigation into this playing which Beethoven is

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<sup>4</sup> According to the concert-bill the concerto was on the first half of the concert and for the third item on the second half of the programme 'Wird Herr Clement auf der Violine phantasiren und auch eine Sonate auf einer einzigen Saite mit umgekehrter Violin spielen.' (reproduced in Robin Stowell: *Beethoven: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge, 1998) p. 31, and also in Walter Kolneder, *The Amadeus Book of the Violin*, rev., ed., and trans. by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1998) p. 382). According to the traditional account repeated in 'Clement', in *NG* and elsewhere, the musical acrobatics were actually performed between movements of the concerto. While this might be an apocryphal exaggeration, it is a story which has shaped ideas about this première.

<sup>5</sup> Hanslick p. 228, note 2, mentions as one of Clement's defining artistic qualities his 'kurzer Bogen nach alt-italienischer Schule' [short bow in the manner of the old Italian school] without more specifically describing exactly what type of bow was meant.

<sup>6</sup> Stowell assumes a quicker spread of the Tourte-style bow than seems to have been actually the case in Vienna. In his recent study of op. 61, *Beethoven: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge, 1998), he discusses the advent and the advantages of the Tourte-style bow at length (pp. 7-10), suggesting that Beethoven, through Kreutzer, whom he had met in 1798, was well aware of the potential of this newer type of bow and was writing the concerto with its special qualities in mind. While plausible, such conjecture is not directly supported by documentary evidence and stands in contradiction to Beethoven's writing the concerto especially for Clement, whom he knew well and whose playing he highly esteemed at this time. Moreover changes in bowings in subsequent editions of Kreutzer's études, first published c. 1796, suggest that Kreutzer only gradually took advantage of the potential of the Tourte-style bow and may not have adopted it yet by the time of his visit to Vienna. In Chapter 5 I discuss the possibility that the French school adopted the Tourte-style bow later than is generally assumed.

supposed to have actually admired.<sup>7</sup> Have music historians really done justice to Clement and this event? Perhaps, as Clement's style of playing fell rapidly out of fashion in Vienna after about 1810, the man himself becoming a bit of an outcast by the 1820s, it is too easy to discount him and his approach to the violin.

Though it is impossible to force the diverse matrix of practices which flourished in Beethoven's Vienna into the mould of a single school of string playing, two outstanding traits, both represented in Clement's playing of the op. 61 violin concerto, characterize Viennese string playing and distinguish it from that of other musical centres such as Paris, London, and Berlin. Viennese players exhibited a tenacious conservatism and, paradoxically, a playfulness or fascination with the ludic, which set their city apart from other centres. Though Franz Clement was considered unique,<sup>8</sup> as were other outstanding Viennese players, and his approach is not known to have been directly imitated, his stage antics and use in 1806 of what in some regions already might have been viewed as an old-fashioned bow, graphically portray the two complementary sides of Viennese string playing in this period. Clement's audacious showmanship went hand in hand with his conservative equipment and technical foundation in the older Italian school.

The playful side of Viennese string playing manifested itself in various forms of experimentation: the exploitation of showmanship; the expression of humour; and the ability to appreciate quirkiness for its own sake. Composers and players experimented with fingerings in their pieces and playing, intensifying expression with devices such as slides, harmonics, playing entire

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<sup>7</sup> After all, in addition to the violin concerto, Beethoven had entrusted the direction of important early performances of the *Eroica*, including its première, to Clement.

<sup>8</sup> *AmZ* of 1805 as quoted in Hanslick p.228.

passages on one string, and playing entire passages in one position. In bowing, Viennese performers exhibited their ludic curiosity through their quest for a vocal sound, one both singing *and* speaking, and their unwillingness to be strapped with a priori rules, preferring to find bowings which best supported the underlying expression of the music at hand. Contest performances between duelling virtuosi were not uncommon. A smooth continuum from dilettante to virtuoso existed so that string players pervaded the society at large. Ignaz von Mosel reported on the widespread popularity of amateur music making:

...nowhere else will one find amongst the amateurs on nearly every instrument so many accomplished executants, many of whom could stand comparison to the professors of this art, and some who could even surpass them.<sup>9</sup>

Skilled amateurs playing alongside the best professionals promoted a spirit of playfulness and ensured an atmosphere where technical variety could be widely appreciated for its own sake.

The adventurous side of Viennese string playing was balanced and often, especially from the viewpoint of outsiders, eclipsed by the city's insular hold on a tradition with clear links back to earlier eighteenth-century Italian players. Viennese players seem not to have adopted newer Tourte-style bows and tauter instrument setups as quickly as players in France and England or even their own German neighbors to the north. Though fashionable foreign artists, among them leading exponents of the Paris school, were applauded and praised in Vienna, their technical developments were slow to take any foothold there. By the same token, Vienna-based violin and cello virtuosi journeyed less widely

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<sup>9</sup> '...nirgends wird man unter den Liebhabern (Dilletanten) auf fast allen Instrumenten so viele vollendete Ausübende finden, deren manche sich den Professoren dieser Kunst an die Seite setzen dürfen, ja wohl einige sie sogar noch übertreffen.' from *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (27 May 1808) p. 39, quoted in Biba (1998) p. 222.

than their French and Italian colleagues. When they did, they were more likely to travel in Eastern Europe and Russia. Violin and cello treatises published in Vienna in this period took conservative approaches and in most cases were only concerned with the fundamentals, leaving advanced techniques to individual tuition.

Even if Clement's manner of playing the violin was neither typical nor widely imitated,<sup>10</sup> his position at the Theater an der Wien and prominence among violinists in Vienna make him an important figure who mattered very much in the last decade of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth centuries in Vienna. His associations with the Beethoven concerto, especially, merit special consideration. His popularity was very much a Viennese phenomenon. **Franz Clement** (1780-1842) was born and died in the city, giving public performances there by the age of seven as a pupil of Kurzweil, Prince Grassalkovich's *Konzertmeister*.<sup>11</sup> His further studies in Vienna were under Giovanni Mane Giornovich (c.1740-1804), the chief representative of the old Italian school, which was eventually superseded in popularity across Europe by Viotti and the French school he inspired. Clement was in London (1790-92) giving concerts with the likes of Haydn and Salomon—he presumably also kept in contact with Giornovich who was in London from 1789-96<sup>12</sup>—but he returned to Vienna by 1793 when he made a successful appearance in a contest

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<sup>10</sup> Stowell (1998), p. 22, claims, 'Almost alone of the celebrated players of his generation, Clement neglected to cultivate the acclaimed performing qualities of the ascendant Viotti school.' However, surviving compositions of other violinists close to Beethoven at this time such as Wenzel Krumpholtz and Ignaz Schuppanzigh tend to imply styles of playing more akin to Clement than to the French school.

<sup>11</sup> Moser, II, p. 235.

<sup>12</sup> According to Grasberger (1979) in his commentary to the facsimile of the Beethoven violin concerto, p. 18, it was not until Clement reached England that he commenced studies with Giornovich.

concert with Viotti.<sup>13</sup> He directed the orchestra of the Theater an der Wien (1802-11) where he played a leading role in Vienna's musical life. By the end of this period Viennese taste was turning away from his brand of virtuosic eccentricities<sup>14</sup> and by the mid 1820s reviews regularly criticized his bowing as old fashioned,<sup>15</sup> so that he eventually died impoverished.

Important to Viennese appreciation of him in the first half of his career was his tonal finesse, which he achieved with his pre-Tourte-style Italian bow. According to a correspondent of the *AmZ* in 1805: 'He plays the violin superbly and in his way is perhaps unique. It is not the audacious, marked, powerful playing, which characterizes the Viotti school, but an indescribable delicacy, tidiness, and elegance.'<sup>16</sup> Exactly what type of bow Hanslick was describing is not clear, but judging from frequent contrasts made between his approach and that of the Viotti school, together with the fact that his style was closely associated with that of his teacher Giornovich, himself a Lolli disciple and the last prominent, touring exponent of pre-Viotti playing, exemplified earlier by Lolli, Pugnani, and Tartini, it might be a safe guess that Clement was using a bow similar to what Giornovich had used. Certainly Clement shared with Giornovich and Lolli a similarly manic and perhaps exaggerated manner of delivery. Fortunately Michel Woldemar (1750-1815)— student of both Lolli and Mestrino, who

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<sup>13</sup> Haas, p. 21

<sup>14</sup> Haas, p. 23

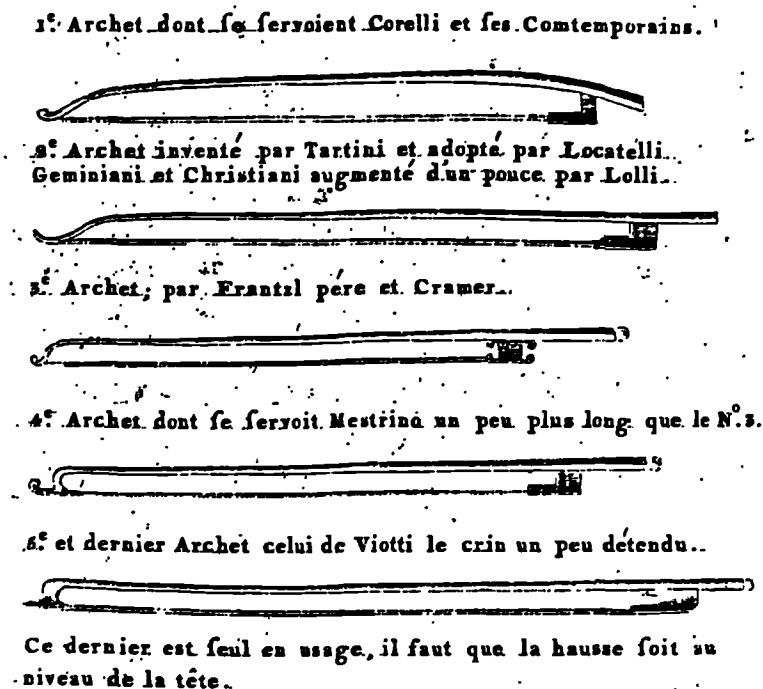
<sup>15</sup> Haas, p. 25

<sup>16</sup> 'Er spielt die Violine vortrefflich und in seiner Art vielleicht einzig. Es ist nicht das kühne, markige, kraftvolle Spiel, das die Viottische Schule charakterisirt, aber eine unbeschreibliche Zierlichkeit, Nettigkeit und Eleganz.' quoted in Hanslick, p. 228.



advocated Viotti's approach,<sup>17</sup> but whose own compositions, such as the *Sonates fantômagiques (les ombres de Lolli, de Mestrino, de Pugnani, de Tartini)*,<sup>18</sup> show him to have maintained a quirky, experimental streak more sympathetic to his Italian masters—in his revised edition of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch*, includes an illustration comparing five different bow designs. After a Corelli-style bow, the second is a bow 'invented by Tartini and adopted by Locatelli, Geminiani, and Christiani, augmented one inch by Lolli.'

III. Woldemar's graphic comparison of different types of bows.<sup>19</sup>



From Corelli onwards the Italian school had cultivated long notes, long slurs,

<sup>17</sup> *Grande méthode* (Paris, 1798), discussed with regard to Beethoven and Kreutzer in Jander, pp. 37-40.

<sup>18</sup> Published also as *Quatre Grands Solos ou Études pour le Violon avec Accompt. de Basse ad libitum, composés dans le Caractère des Célèbres Mestrino, Pugnani, Tartini et Lolli* (Paris: Richault, [c. 1800]). Each sonata pays homage to a former master, always featuring a dialogue between Woldemar and the apparition of the master. The sonatas are also full of special effects such as high passages on the G string, difficult double stops, bariolage, scordatura, and frequent use of difficult, flat-oriented keys.

<sup>19</sup> Michel Woldemar, *Méthode de violon par L. Mozart rédigée par Woldemar* (Paris, 1801) p. 5. Note that even the bow of Viotti still retains some 'transitional' features.

and slow bow control, but what was considered sustained in the eighteenth century, apparently began to sound choppy compared with the playing of the Viotti school. It appears, however, judging from reviews, that Viennese audiences did not hear the pre-Viotti approach to bowing as old-fashioned until about the early 1820s.

Despite the rise of the progressive French violin school headed by Viotti, it was not only in Clement that Beethoven found artistic satisfaction, perhaps even inspiration as regards specifics of string writing, amongst violinists with pedigrees of the older Italian school. The sonata, op. 47, 'Kreutzer', containing Beethoven's most concertante writing for the violin outside his violin concerto, was written in the spring of 1803 largely for the English violinist **George Polgreen Bridgetower** (1779?-1860),<sup>20</sup> whose playing deeply affected Beethoven.<sup>21</sup> Though by no means a Viennese violinist, Bridgetower's brief stay in that city, unlike that of any of the violinists of the French school, did leave a tangible trace: a sonata completed for him by Beethoven.<sup>22</sup> Bridgetower's cosmopolitan life and artistic development make it difficult to say exactly what combination of influences came together in his personal style, but he, like Clement, was known

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<sup>20</sup> Sketches for the first and perhaps second movements predate Beethoven's first encounter with Bridgetower in Vienna and the third movement had already been written as the original finale to the op. 30, no. 1 A major sonata. Beethoven undertook the bulk of the work on the first two movements of op. 47, however, after hearing Bridgetower play, tailoring the piece to a performance by the two of them. (Thayer, pp. 332-3.) Beethoven's comic inscription on a draft of the sonata clearly refers to Bridgetower as its intended recipient: 'Sonata mulattica composta per il mulatto Brischdauer, gran pazzo e compositore mulattico'.

<sup>21</sup> Beethoven sent a glowing letter of recommendation of Bridgetower to Baron von Wetzlar, dated 18 May 1803 (Thayer, p. 333), and according to a note Bridgetower left in his copy of the sonata, mentioning his own spontaneous imitation of the piano cadenza in bar 18 of the Presto to which Beethoven 'jumped up, embraced me, saying: "Noch einmal, mein lieber Bursch!" [Once more, my dear boy!]' Then he held the open pedal during this flight, the chord of C as at the ninth bar.' (Quoted in Thayer, p. 333)

<sup>22</sup> A discussion of the extent to which the sonata was written for Bridgetower versus Kreutzer, and whether it matters, follows in chapter 6.

as a student of Giornovich. Coincidentally, the two had met as children in England where they performed together.

The fiery performances and wild capriciousness shared by Bridgetower and Clement can best be understood in reference to their legacy, together with their teacher Giornovich, as the last proponents of, what in retrospect can be seen as, the fading reign of the old Italian school. Giornovich and Bridgetower spent their entire lives as roving virtuosi. Clement's temperament too was probably suited to this kind of unsettled existence. Portions of his life, as a youth and later between 1812 and 1818, were that of the itinerant artiste. Vienna, where public concerts were not yet a well organized part of musical life, was able to embrace this eccentric native for a time and place him in a position of authority. According to a first-hand account written once Clement's career had been in decline for many years by Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841), friend to both Beethoven and Clement and now buried next to Clement, this violinist possessed all the prerequisites of greatness but lacked a focused ambition and had outlived his own time.<sup>23</sup> Is it possible that beneath Clement's and Bridgetower's extroverted playing lay, at some level, an awareness of the turning tide, which spurred both men towards exaggeration in an effort to defend and uphold their tradition? The image of a violinist pushing the limits of his instrument and

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<sup>23</sup> Seyfried writing in Schilling (1835) states: 'C[lement] ist ein geborenes Genie, und war von der Natur bestimmt, ein Paganini zu werden, alles, was er wollte, konnte er auch; aber eben, daß er nur so wenig wollte von dem, was in ihm lag zum Vollbringen, — dies ist seine schwerste, nimmer zu entschuldigende, vor dem Richterstuhle der Kunst nie Losprechung findende Unterlassungssünde. Er hat nicht sorgsam genug gewuchert mit dem ihm verliehenen Pfunde; er ist nicht rüstig fortgeschritten mit der Zeit, und wer solches unterläßt, muß nothwendig sich selbst überleben.' [Clement was born a genius and was destined by Nature to become a Paganini. He was able to do anything he wanted, and yet, that he was happy to accomplish so little of that which lay within his abilities is his most serious sin of omission, which will never find absolution at the throne of judgement of Art. He has not profited carefully enough from the gifts he has been allotted. He has not advanced vigorously with time, and he who commits such an omission must necessarily become outmoded.] (Band II, p. 261)

technique for dramatic effect might even be an appropriate parallel to the image of Beethoven pushing the limits of his pianoforte, striving for effects beyond the limitations of his listeners' musical preconceptions.

### Cultural Atmosphere

Close interaction between the leading musicians and the members of the upper social strata, many of whom were themselves accomplished amateurs, which typified Viennese musical culture during the half century from 1780 to 1830,<sup>24</sup> ensured that composers and patrons were well attuned to fine points of instrumental technique and, therefore, looked forward to creative technical solutions which could most clearly delineate musical expression. On Friday mornings, in the early 1790s, four young men would gather at the home of Prince Karl Lichnowsky to play newly composed string quartets. From 1793 Ignaz Schuppanzigh was the leader engaged for these informal house concerts. The other regularly engaged players were Louis Sina, second violin; Franz Weiss, viola; and Anton, or, more likely, his son Nikolaus, Kraft, cello. Frequently the Prince himself would step in to take Sina's place on second violin, and the secretary to the Hungarian ambassador, Nikolaus Zmeskall would serve as cellist.<sup>25</sup> A jovial atmosphere would have prevailed in this youthful gathering; the hired players were all teenagers, and Lichnowsky and Zmeskall themselves were only in their early thirties.<sup>26</sup> This quartet was

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<sup>24</sup> De Nora, pp. 37-38

<sup>25</sup> Thayer, p. 228.

<sup>26</sup> Thayer, p. 156

destined to a privileged position in history as the only one to have the chance to play the quartets of both Haydn and Beethoven under the composers' supervision.<sup>27</sup>

The social and musical circumstances which allowed gatherings such as Prince Lichnowsky's quartet concerts to be a regular feature in the paradigm of upper-class Viennese musical life were already rapidly moving into place in the mid 1770s. By 1780, when Joseph II succeeded Maria Theresia to the throne of the Hapsburg Empire, the foundations had already been laid for what would eventually be known as the Viennese classical style. Most of the typical genres of 'classical' string music such as solo concertos, string trios, and string quartets had already come into existence. During the 1770s Haydn, Kapellmeister at Esterháza, had published three sets of six string quartets each, opp. 9, 17, and 20,<sup>28</sup> so that by 1780 classical string music, while still in its youth, was already entrenched in Viennese cultural life. Otto Biba has argued that the social phenomenon of four instrumentalists communicating as equals in a string quartet captured the political mood of Vienna's legal reforms during the 1770s and 80s.<sup>29</sup> The string quartet, like the other genres based on the sonata principle, would prove malleable enough to fulfil a variety of different artistic and expressive aims over the next half century and yet durable enough to maintain its essential identity.

The violinist who was to be most central to the social development of

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<sup>27</sup> Thayer, p. 228.

<sup>28</sup> Op. 9 written before 1771; op. 17 written 1771, published 1772; and op. 20 written 1772, published 1774.

<sup>29</sup> Otto Biba, 'Beobachtungen zur österreichischen Musikszene des 18. Jahrhunderts: vom Wandel des Repertoires und neuen Aufgaben für Komponisten', in *Österreichische Musik—Musik in Österreich: Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas (Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag)*, ed. by Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) p. 219.

chamber music in Vienna has been consigned to an inexplicably minor position in the history of violin playing, now mostly remembered for his close association with Haydn, Schubert, and, especially, Beethoven with little concern for the qualities which may have endeared him to such composers. Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776-1830) began as a violist, but, switching to the violin in about 1793, rapidly became the most prominent quartet leader in Vienna. From the beginning of his career in Lichnowsky's private quartet, Schuppanzigh was in the habit of working closely with composers in developing performances of their works. Beethoven, even before writing any quartets himself, was able to benefit as a listener and observer from his sessions at Lichnowsky's. From his first quartets, op. 18, it is clear that Beethoven's writing, which is so rewarding from the player's standpoint, benefitted greatly from this close association. In addition to Schuppanzigh's important formative role with most of Beethoven's chamber music and Schubert's late chamber music, he was influential in promoting the careers of younger players, most notably Mayseder, allowing him to indelibly stamp Viennese taste.

From the typical Darwinian perspective of much writing on the history of violin playing, concerned mostly with impact on subsequent generations, Schuppanzigh rates only a brief mention in the history of violin playing.<sup>30</sup> Contemporaneous accounts mention his out-of-tune playing in double stops and in higher positions. Especially as he grew older and gained in girth, his phrasing

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<sup>30</sup> Stowell (1985), for example, makes no mention of Schuppanzigh, Clement, or Mayseder, devoting his attention instead to French and French-influenced authors of treatises. Moser (vol 2, pp. 230, ff.) gives Schuppanzigh a secondary listing, acknowledging his connection to Beethoven, but, of Viennese players, giving only Böhm, the first Viennese player definitely influenced by the French school, special attention (vol 2, pp. 242-46).

could seem arbitrary,<sup>31</sup> and his heavy-footed time-keeping could disturb the music.<sup>32</sup> He was not a prominent teacher. He wrote no method and little music, so it is difficult to find a tangible heritage passed along to future generations. From this point of view he is an evolutionary dead-end whom subsequent schools and players, proud of their own technical polish, could hardly want to claim as an ancestor.<sup>33</sup> However, from a broader perspective, the playing of this violinist, who assumed such a crucial role in Beethoven's output and his understanding of the violin and also played a significant role in presenting the

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<sup>31</sup> Hanslick (pp. 204-05) writes: 'Schuppanzigh's Vortrag wird uns von fachkundigen Zeitgenossen als energisch und geistvoll geschildert, nicht frei jedoch von einer gewissen absichtlichen Zerrissenheit, welche gern durch Trennen zusammengehöriger Phrasen, Hervorgeben unwichtiger Noten, selbst durch willkürliche Behandlung des Taktes bedeutend und originell erscheinen wollte und so vielleicht die Quelle einer späteren Vortragsweise wurde, die man kurz die „affectirte“ heißen kann.' [Schuppanzigh's performance is portrayed by knowledgeable contemporaries as energetic and spirited, though not free from a certain intentional disjointedness, consisting of the separation of phrases which belong together, calling attention to unimportant notes, even by means of an arbitrary treatment of the beat, all of which can seem meaningful and witty, and so perhaps was the source of a later style of performance which could be succinctly labelled 'affected'.] Hanslick adds in a footnote (ibid): 'Diesen scharfen Beigeschmack dürfte Sch.'s Vortrag erst in späteren Jahren bekommen haben.' [This slightly harsh taste could only have infected Schuppanzigh's performance in later years.]

<sup>32</sup> Reichardt (*Vertraute Briefe aus Wien*, I, 206 ff.) complains of Schuppanzigh's foot stomping, which he says is common in Vienna: '...nur störte er mich oft durch die hier allgemein eingeführte verwünschte Art, mit dem Fuße Takt zu schlagen, selbst wo es gar nicht Noth thut, oft nur aus leidiger Gewohnheit, oft auch nur, um das Forte zu verstärken. Überhaupt hört man hier selten ein Forte oder gar Fortissime, ohne daß der Anführer ungestüm mit dem Fuße drein schlägt.' [...he disturbed me frequently through the, here universally introduced, wretched manner of beating time with the foot, even when not needed, often only as a tiresome habit, often also to strengthen a forte. In general one seldom hears a forte or rarer yet a fortissimo here without the leader impetuously pounding with his foot.] Quoted in Wasielewski (1927), pp. 295-96. For more on audible foot tapping to keep time, which was apparently not uncommon in the late eighteenth century, see Robin Stowell, "'Good execution and other necessary skills': The Role of the Concertmaster in the Late 18th Century", in *Early Music* xvi (February 1988) 21-33, p. 24.

<sup>33</sup> In the modern lore of Vienna Schuppanzigh is very much seen as one of the founders of the modern Viennese violin school, with an unbroken tradition back to him and Mayseder. See, for example, E. Hellsberg, II, pp. 5 ff., where Hellsberg sets up a triumvirate of Schuppanzigh, Mayseder, and Böhm as counterparts to the French school's Rode, Kreutzer, and Baillot. Schuppanzigh, however, makes his way into this pantheon without mention of criticisms frequently levelled against his playing in his lifetime. Additionally, Hellsberg's approach pays little heed to details of performance practice. For example no consideration is made of the different setups and bows players in Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century would have used, nor of the possible conventional ways in which their playing might have differed from that of the twentieth century.

music of Haydn and Schubert under the composers' supervision, takes on tremendous significance.

Schuppanzigh's range of activities between 1793 and 1830 are so closely intertwined with the genesis, interpretation, and spreading of Beethoven's music that it is difficult to imagine Beethoven without him. In addition to the quartet at Lichnowsky's, Schuppanzigh seems to have instructed Beethoven three times a week on the violin in the early part of 1794.<sup>34</sup> Schuppanzigh initiated the first public quartet concerts in Vienna during the winter of 1804-05 with a quartet including Mayseder, Schreiber, and one of the Krafts. Between 1808 and 1814 he led the quartet which Count Razumovsky had asked him to assemble to be the best quartet in Europe. For his partners in this quartet he chose Sina, Karl Holz, and the newly arrived Joseph Linke. From 1816 to 1823, following the 1814 disbanding of the Razumovsky quartet after the count's palace burnt down, Schuppanzigh was in Russia. He was welcomed back by Beethoven in 1823 with the canon 'Falstafferel, lass dich sehen!'<sup>35</sup> and quickly re-established quartet activity, taking over leadership from Böhm, with Holz, Weiss, and Linke. Beethoven and others appreciated Schuppanzigh's abilities as an orchestral leader. In 1824, though Clement still had his advocates, Beethoven chose Schuppanzigh over him to lead the première of the Ninth Symphony.

Schuppanzigh was the consummate Viennese player of his day, possessing both the wit and musical commitment which composers and listeners so highly valued. The raw energy of his performances might have had

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<sup>34</sup> Thayer, p. 146. Beethoven's memorandum ('Schuppanzigh, 3 times a W. Albrechtsberger, 3 times a W.') could also possibly refer to some sort of tutoring with Schuppanzigh's father, a teacher in the *Realschule*, though most current writers doubt this other possibility.

<sup>35</sup> Beethoven jocularly referred to him as 'Milord Falstaff' because of his corpulence and jolly personality.



some rough edges, but at the same time his profound connection to the music would have made his interpretations authoritatively definitive. An analogy might be drawn with Lotte Lenya whose interpretations of Kurt Weill's songs convey the spirit of the music definitively, in a way which works perfectly as an organic whole, and yet any pedantic consideration of her singing, from a purely technical perspective, would find serious vocal faults, precluding imitation. He studied for a time with Anton Wranitzky,<sup>36</sup> but came to music from an essentially amateur background, eventually attaining his proficiency through 'tenacious industry and unremitting practice'.<sup>37</sup> He was so clearly a favourite that contemporaneous commentators generally assumed his stature, drawing more attention to specific deficiencies than to his many widely known strengths. The outstanding traits mentioned most often were his rhythmic vitality, his knowing how to apply the right accents to bring a musical line to life and his uncanny ability to appropriately characterize the music in his playing. For example, Reichhardt after visiting Vienna (1808-9) wrote:

Herr Schuppanzigh has *his own individual piquant manner*, which very well befits the humorous quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, or which even more is produced by his appropriate, witty performance of these masterpieces. He performs the greatest difficulties with clarity, if not always with utter purity, whereupon the virtuosos here frequently seem to disregard such matters; *he also accentuates very correctly and meaningfully*. Additionally his cantabile is often truly singing and touching.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Moser, p. 230.

<sup>37</sup> Seyfried writing in Schilling's *Encyclopädie* (1838) p. 288: '[Er] wurde nicht nur durch anhaltenden Fleiß und rastlose Uebung ein tüchtiger Violinist, sondern auch...ein wahrhaft energischer Orchester-Anführer.' [Through tenacious industry and unremitting practice he became not only a capable violinist but also a truly energetic orchestra leader.]

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Moser, I, p. 232: 'Herr Schuppanzigh hat *eine eigene pikante Manier*, die sehr wohl zu den humoristischen Quartetts von Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven paßt; oder wohl vielmehr aus dem angemessenen launigen Vortrag dieser Meisterwerke hervorgegangen ist. Er trägt die größten Schwierigkeiten deutlich vor, wiewohl nicht immer mit vollkommener Reinheit, worüber sich die hiesigen Virtuosen überhaupt oft wegzusetzen scheinen; *er accentuirt auch sehr richtig und*

Personality is not often discussed in formal studies of performance practices, but perhaps the personalities and social compatibility of players and composers should be taken into some account when trying to reconstruct the practices of early nineteenth-century Vienna. Of the three violinists considered so far, Clement, Bridgetower, and Schuppanzigh, the most obvious commonality is that Beethoven liked each of them. This is not to say that their playing styles did not share important traits, but the type of anecdotal evidence which survives, usually because of the players' links with Beethoven or other famous composers, tends to give a clearer idea of each player's personality than of his playing, so a question arises as to how, or whether, personality affects playing style and thereby the experience of the listener. This is true for many of the other Viennese players of this period, including Karl Holz, Anton and Nikolaus Kraft, Josef Linke, and Josef Slavík. A picture of easy-going collegiality with much joking, which in no way detracted from the seriousness of purpose, emerges. While it is not the point of this thesis to investigate the role of personality in shaping performance practices, and it is not certain whether clear conclusions could be drawn, it nevertheless makes sense to try to see how individual personalities and rivalries unite to form the unique character of a musical culture.

Schuppanzigh's reach and significance were such that the three cellists most prominent in chamber music during Beethoven's time in Vienna were all quartet partners with him. Anton Kraft (1749-1820) and his son Nikolaus Kraft (1778-1853) came to Vienna in 1790, after the Esterháza Kapelle disbanded,<sup>39</sup> and

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*bedeutend. Auch sein Cantabile ist oft recht singend und rührend.'*

<sup>39</sup> Walden, *One Hundred Years*, p. 44.

both joined the private orchestra of Prince Joseph Lobkowitz in 1794.<sup>40</sup> A great deal of confusion exists because so many sources mention the surname Kraft without specifying father or son. It is more likely the son who was the cellist of Schuppanzigh's early quartet at Prince Lichnowsky's,<sup>41</sup> but it is also clear from Beethoven's correspondence that the father participated frequently in chamber music readings arranged for the composer. When Josef Linke (1783-1837) arrived in Vienna from Breslau in 1808, Schuppanzigh seems to have immediately taken a liking to him,<sup>42</sup> inviting him to join Count Razumovsky's quartet and quickly convincing Beethoven that he was the new cellist of choice in Vienna.

Anton Kraft developed a level of virtuosity which rivalled Boccherini's without possessing the same graceful ease of execution. Kraft's technique, like Boccherini's, had extensive use of thumb position as its centrepiece. However, as will be made clear in Chapter 4, Kraft's way of managing thumb positions seems risky and dreadfully awkward to modern-day cellists, whereas many of Boccherini's innovations were eventually subsumed into the body of techniques which are still the basis of virtuosity. From January 1779 until its dissolution Kraft served as principal cellist under Haydn in the Esterháza Kapelle.<sup>43</sup> Haydn wrote his D major concerto, Hob. VIIb: 2 (1783) for Kraft, probably, in part, in

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Based on the ages of the other members of this ensemble, Nikolaus does seem to be the more likely candidate. In either case both were active in the Beethoven circle at this time and a good deal of confusion between the two exists today. Walden believes it was Anton who was the cellist of this quartet with his son Nikolaus frequently substituting for him (*One Hundred Years*, p. 45).

<sup>42</sup> Thayer, p. 444.

<sup>43</sup> Walden, *One Hundred Years*, p. 44.

collaboration with him.<sup>44</sup> Also a composition student of Haydn's, he wrote his own C major concerto, op. 4, c. 1792. Once in the Lobkowitz orchestra in Vienna he befriended Beethoven who wrote the cello part of the Triple Concerto, op. 56, for him.

Nikolaus Kraft was one of the first Viennese string players to consciously integrate aspects of the newer French and northern German schools into his playing. He was trained to a high level of proficiency by his father, performing his father's concerto for the Vienna Tonkünstler-Sozietät in 1792. Already established in his career in Vienna, he left for Berlin to spend a year studying with Jean Louis Duport. He played the première of Beethoven's op. 69 Sonata in 1809. Bernard Romberg greatly admired his playing. He left Vienna in 1815 to take up the post in the Stuttgart Kapelle.

The Silesian cellist Josef Linke must have been a formidable chamber music player. Little is known about him, but within a short time of his arrival in Vienna in 1808, whether for musical or personal reasons, he seems to have usurped the Krafts' positions in Schuppanzigh's circle.<sup>45</sup> He had a reputation for very clean playing and shows evidence of the same sort of daring command of thumb position which Anton Kraft possessed. Additionally, due to a lame leg, the result of a poorly healed childhood sprain, Linke seems to have supported his instrument with a spike.<sup>46</sup> It was Linke who first performed Beethoven's

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<sup>44</sup> Bernhard Hentrich, *Autograph und Editionen des Konzertes für Violoncello und Orchester D-dur Hob VII b:2 von Joseph Haydn: Der Vorbereitung einer aufführungspraktisch korrekten Einstudierung* (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Hochschule für Musik Dresden, 1991), pp. 4-15.

<sup>45</sup> Linke's replacement of Anton Kraft in the Razumovsky quartet came close on the heels of the latter's première of the Beethoven Triple Concerto.

<sup>46</sup> Walden, *One Hundred Years*, p. 97. Walden believes Linke probably used an endpin. If this is true, he becomes the earliest known cellist with any stature as a soloist or chamber music player to have employed this device.

two op. 102 sonatas. In 1815 when Razumovsky was forced to disband his quartet and Schuppanzigh left Vienna for Russia, Linke too left for a time, accompanying the Erdödy family, but was able to return by 1818 to take the position as first cellist of the Theater an der Wien.

Joseph Mayseder (1789-1863) is, after Schuppanzigh, the player who comes closest to epitomizing the ideal Viennese violinist in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. A native of Vienna, he spent his entire professional life there, with the exception of a visit to Paris in 1820 where he met Kreutzer and Habeneck but did not perform publicly. Many authors, including Moser and Hanslick, group Mayseder with Schuppanzigh and Clement to form a 'trinity' of classical Viennese violin playing. Schuppanzigh fostered Mayseder's career by appointing him second violinist in his subscription series quartet in 1804 when he was only fifteen. Like Schuppanzigh, Mayseder was a student of Anton Wranitzky. As a quartet player Mayseder also played second to Böhm. While not as central to Beethoven's music as Schuppanzigh or Clement, he was one of Vienna's most celebrated players between 1804 and 1837. He was probably a cleaner player than Schuppanzigh, though also less intense. Reaction to his playing was somewhat mixed. While Spohr found him 'the most excellent among the Viennese violin virtuosos', Weber's succinct evaluation, 'very good, but leaves one cold.' was less enthusiastic.<sup>47</sup> He became leader of the orchestra of the Hoftheater in 1810 and soloist of the Hofkapelle in 1816. His compositions for violin suggest a player who was beginning to look towards the French school

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<sup>47</sup> Spohr: 'ausgezeichnetsten unter den Wiener Violinvirtuosen'; and Weber: 'Sehr brav, läßt aber kalt.' Both quoted in Marianne Kroemer, 'Geiger der Schubertzeit in Wien', in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, Report of the 1974 conference at Vienna, ed. by Vera Schwarz, assisted by Roswitha Karpf, *Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis* 4 (Munich: Katzschichler, 1981 p. 99.

for its standard of technical attainment. He retired from public performance in 1837.

Numerous players, including many amateurs, now chiefly remembered through their associations with Beethoven, made important contributions to Viennese musical life. The rashly whimsical and enthusiastic violinist **Wenzel Krumpholz** (c. 1750-1817) was one of the first to understand Beethoven's music and the violinist remained one of his staunchest supporters until his death. When he came to Vienna in 1795 to join the orchestra of the Hofoper he quickly gained a reputation as performer of the quartets of Haydn.<sup>48</sup> Krumpholz gave Beethoven violin instruction in 1795 and Beethoven wrote two of his little pieces for mandolin and harpsichord for him.<sup>49</sup> According to Thayer (p. 225), Heinrich Eppinger, a talented amateur who lived off a small fortune, was one of the first violinists in Vienna to play Beethoven's music. The young theologian and amateur violinist Karl Amenda (1771-1836), in Vienna from the spring of 1798 to the autumn of 1799, became close friends with Beethoven who gave him an early version of the quartet, op. 18, no. 1, in manuscript as a parting gift. **Nikolaus Zmeskall von Domanovecz** (1759-1833), on the staff of the Hungarian ambassador, and **Ignaz von Gleichenstein** (1778-1828), a secretary in the Imperial War Department, competent cellists, who stepped in frequently for chamber music gatherings in the Beethoven circle, were both close friends with the composer and did much to advance his career. The amateur violinist and occasional conductor **Karl Holz** (1798-1858) served as second violinist in Böhm's quartet, remaining in this position in 1823 when Schuppanzigh took over the

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<sup>48</sup> Thayer, p. 226.

<sup>49</sup> The mandolin parts of the c minor Sonatine and the E-flat major Adagio for mandolin and harpsichord, written about 1796, were most likely intended for Krumpholz (Kinsky, p. 487).

quartet. He was one of those closest to Beethoven in the last years of the composer's life, serving as his secretary from summer of 1825 until September 1826. After Beethoven's death he increased his directing activities in an effort to promote his master's works.

Though string players were not as central to Schubert's circle as to Beethoven's, Schubert was closely associated with several players who influenced the direction he took in some of his music for strings. Most important to Schubert were the violinists Böhm, Slavík, and Schuppanzigh, and the cellists Merk and Linke. Schuppanzigh was away from Vienna and Böhm was the reigning quartet leader as Schubert was coming to prominence before a wider Viennese public. After Schuppanzigh's return in 1823, Schubert also sought out his help and dedicated the a minor quartet (D. 804) to him. **Josef Merk** (1795-1852) was close friends with Schubert, to whom Merk dedicated his *20 Exercices*, op. 11 (Vienna, 1825), which are still widely used as study material today. In 1818 he became solo cellist of the Hofoper orchestra. Merk was reputed to be a more dynamic soloist than Linke.<sup>50</sup> He succeeded Anton Kraft as professor at the Conservatory in 1822.

The Bohemian violinist **Josef Slavík** (1806-1833) was closely associated with Schubert at the end of the composer's life. Slavík came to Vienna in 1826 where he made a living teaching the violin and additionally worked as an unpaid member of the Hofkapelle. He had made his first public appearance in Prague at a conservatory concert playing the Polonaise in E of Mayseder on 30 March 1821. In Vienna, however, he failed to be accepted by Mayseder as a pupil, so he worked to prepare himself for the concert platform. Schubert met him and

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<sup>50</sup> Walden, p. 47.

was enchanted by his violin playing, dedicating to him the fantasy in C (D.934). Slavík performed it for the first time in concert on 20 January 1828. Despite his technical finesse,<sup>51</sup> his youthful inexperience seems to have negatively affected the critical reaction:

How far he still has to go to become a solid violin player, was strikingly apparent in the fantasy by Schubert; a piece, whose worthiness certainly ought to be able to be appreciated properly in [such a] room of modest size before a real concert audience.<sup>52</sup>

Though not generally known as a quartet player, Slavík rehearsed Schubert's last string quartet together with the composer.

### Foundations of Vienna's String Playing

Despite the scope of varying practices amongst Vienna's string players between 1780 and 1830, the stylistic cohesion of the music produced, especially when seen with the benefit of hindsight, makes it tempting to find a convenient label to somehow draw the disparate players' practices into a coherent school. Any single school that could accommodate both Clement and Mayseder or Schuppanzigh would have to be too catholic to be meaningful as a label. On the other hand, to break the Vienna of this period into several factions would ignore the fluid way players moved from one configuration to another. Among German-speaking writers, especially those with a personal stake in the cultural

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<sup>51</sup> Schwarz (1981), p. 91.

<sup>52</sup> 'Wie viel ihm noch zum soliden Violinspieler mangelt, zeigte recht auffallend in der Fantasie von Schubert; einem Tonstücke, das freilich in einem kleinerem Lokale, vor einem eigentlichen Konzert-Publikum recht nach Würden genossen werden kann' *Wiener Allgemeinen Theaterzeitung* of 29 January 1828.



heritage of Vienna such as Hanslick, Moser,<sup>53</sup> and Eugen Hellsberg, the tendency has been to view this period as the time during which various forces came together and produced the Viennese school of violin playing which reigns triumphant in Vienna to this day. The violin playing of Vienna prior to Beethoven's arrival had a cohesion which could reasonably be called a school, almost like Mannheim, though probably with less uniformity. In the 1790s, however, in part due to all the competing interests in Vienna's musical life, but perhaps also in response to the push for change from the French school, it seems as if different practices began to multiply and did not settle into anything remotely resembling a school until about 1830. The Vienna Conservatory (Conservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde) was founded in 1817, which, at least on paper, looks like the beginning of a systematized school, but the Vienna Conservatory at this point was a much more loosely organized institution than the Paris Conservatoire. It was not until the late 1820s that teachers such as Joseph Böhm and Georg Hellmesberger, and later Jakob Dont, were producing a steady succession of violinists, trained in a unified manner. Certainly, many of the traits associated with this Viennese 'school' are generally applicable to the practices of the period—versatility, emphasis on chamber music, ability to easily go from more serious music to lighter popular styles, greater value placed on characterful musical expression than on show of virtuosity<sup>54</sup>—but the whole picture, including standardized fingering and

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<sup>53</sup> Moser is actually more careful to differentiate between the violinists of the period of this study and the later Viennese school. In his family trees of violinists he designates the group from Dittersdorf to the students of Mayseder as the 'mittlere Wiener Geigerschule' and then begins the 'neuere Wiener Geigerschule' with Böhm and Jansa neither of whom are included by him in his earlier Viennese school. (Moser, II, charts on unnumbered pages following p. 371)

<sup>54</sup> Eugen Hellsberg, discussing the violinistic formation of Mayseder, who was arguably the forerunner of the Viennese school's ideal violinist, describes the ideal thus: 'der Wiener Geiger par excellence ist Orchesterspieler, Kammermusiker und Solist, wobei der Schwerpunkt seiner

bowing practices, did not come together to make a real school until some point after Beethoven's lifetime.

Though essentially of the Italian school in the broader sense, the string playing in Vienna, much like that of Mannheim, was, by the late eighteenth century, no longer directly dependent on Italians.<sup>55</sup> Few Italian violinists were actually active in or near Vienna by 1780. Some Viennese players had been trained in part in Italy or by Italians of the previous generation who had worked in Vienna, but by this time many players were actually in the second or third generation of Viennese (or greater Austrian) pedagogical succession. Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799), himself trained by the Italian Joseph (or Giuseppe) Trani (c. 1707-1797),<sup>56, 57</sup> Leopold Hofmann (1738-1793),<sup>58</sup> and Wenzel Pichl

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künstlerischen Interessen auf dem Quartettspiel liegt—er ist also primär Ensemblespieler...’ [The Viennese violinist *par excellence* is an orchestra player, chamber musician, and soloist, whereby the emphasis of his artistic interests rests on quartet playing—he is thus primarily an ensemble musician.] II, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> The most comprehensive German-language violin method produced prior to Leopold Mozart was an anonymously published method widely believed to be written by the Viennese composer Georg Wagenseil (1715-1777): *Rudimenta panduristae oder Geig-Fundamenta, worinnen die kürzeste Unterweisung für einen Scholaren...dargethan wird* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1754). This method was reprinted at least once by Lotter in 1778.

<sup>56</sup> Ludwig von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543-1867* (Vienna: Beck'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976), p. 90 indicates that Trani was a member of the Hofkapelle until 1788 and died, aged ninety in 1797.

<sup>57</sup> Dittersdorf in his autobiography explains, 'daß dieser Mann sich meine musikalische Bildung mit allem Eifer angelegen seyn ließ' [that this man dedicated himself with the greatest zeal to my musical training], and that Trani was in turn greatly influenced by Domenico Ferrari (1722-1780), considered one of Tartini's greatest students, who created a sensation in Vienna in 1750: 'Überall, wo Ferrari sich hören ließ, mußte er akkompagnieren. Das wirkte so auf ihn, daß er sich Ferrari's Methode, Fingersatz, Strich und Vortrag ganz zu eigen machte.' [Wherever Ferrari was heard, he [Trani] had to provide an accompaniment. The effect on him was such that he made Ferrari's method, his fingering and bowing techniques, and his deportment wholly his own.] (Quoted in Moser, II, p. 70.). According to Hanslick (p. 106), Ferrari possessed an especially well developed facility in the execution of octave passages and harmonics.

<sup>58</sup> Hofmann's teacher is unknown. His many well crafted concerti for violin and cello attest to his intimate knowledge of string instruments.

(1741-1805)<sup>59</sup> were all accomplished violinists, as well as composers, of the older generation. Men such as these served as models for the generation immediately preceding Schuppanzigh, which included Paul and Anton Wranitzky. As violinists they were comfortable playing a concerto, leading a quartet, or leading an orchestra, and at the same time they were able composers.

Anton Wranitzky (1761-1820) was one of the most influential figures among violinists in Vienna in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though it is now difficult to discern what exactly were the emphases in his approach, it is clear that despite his immersion in the most progressive music of his time his technical apparatus on the violin was conservative, anchored to the music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As the main teacher to both Schuppanzigh and Mayseder; as Konzertmeister, from 1790, and Kapellmeister, from 1797, of the Lobkowitz orchestra, eventually taking over as director of the court theatre (1807); and as orchestra director of the Theater an der Wien (1814) he was obviously in a position to set standards and shape taste. He and his elder brother Paul Wranitzky (1756-1808), also a violinist, were both good friends of Beethoven and Haydn, performing both composers' works frequently. At Haydn's behest Anton arranged his *Creation* for string quintet.<sup>60</sup> As Lobkowitz's Konzertmeister, Anton worked particularly closely with Beethoven. It was he who would have been the violin soloist, together with the elder Kraft on cello, and Beethoven himself at the piano, in

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<sup>59</sup> Pichl's teachers remain unknown. By 1765 the Bohemian violinist was selected by Dittersdorf as Konzertmeister. He is an underrated composer, whose string trios and quartets merit rediscovery. He wrote difficult study material for violin, including *Cento variazioni*, op. 11 and *Six fûgues*, op. 35.

<sup>60</sup> *Die Schöpfung: ein musikalisches Oratorium von Herrn Joseph Haydn, übersetzt in Quintetten für 2 Violinen, 2 Violon und Violoncello von Herrn Ant: Wranzky [sic]* (Vienna: Artaria, [1799]; reissued Paris: Sieber, [1800]; Bonn: Simrock, [1799]).

Beethoven's Triple Concerto, when it was first performed privately at the Lobkowitz residence in 1805. Nothing is known about how the Wranitzkys learned the violin, growing up in Moravia, except that Paul is said to have taught Anton. The efficacy of this arrangement is difficult to imagine with less than four and a half years separating the two in age. The only real clue Anton provided to his approach to teaching in his very brief, eight-page, *Violin Fondament*<sup>61</sup> is his admonition to study the violin examples of Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741),<sup>62</sup> whom he holds up as the best model, in addition to the works of the 'immortal Corelli and Tartini'.<sup>63</sup>

Wranitzky's advice to practice Corelli and Fux seems strikingly conservative for 1804, coming from a man who daily was engaged almost exclusively with the new music of Haydn, Beethoven, and other living composers. Still, such a statement was typical of the conservative tendencies of Vienna and perhaps of German-speaking centres in general. As will be seen below, many tutors, even into the nineteenth century, advocated study of Leopold Mozart's treatise of 1756 for more advanced players.<sup>64</sup> In addition to the well known interest in the treatises of Fux, the works of C.P.E. Bach, and certain music by other earlier masters, particularly cultivated in the circle of the Baron

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<sup>61</sup> A. Wranitzky, *Violin Fondament nebst einer vorhergehenden Anzeige über die Haltung sowohl der Violine, als auch des Bogens* (Vienna, 1804).

<sup>62</sup> Duets from Fux's *Singfundament* seem to have been popular study material for violinists in greater Austria until at least 1800. See Robert Árpád Murányi for discussion of a ms. *Fondamento di Violino Del Sig: Fux* dating from c. 1790. See also Othmar Wessely, 'Johann Joseph Fuxens „Singfundament“ als Violinschule', in *Festschrift 40 Jahre Steirischer Tonkünstlerbund* (Graz 1967) pp. 24-32.

<sup>63</sup> E. Hellsberg, II, p. 7 & p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> Though new, revised editions continued to be produced, in many cases they were surprisingly conservative. As will be seen in the following discussion of treatises, the Viennese editions of Leopold Mozart from about 1800 came nowhere near advocating the sweeping changes occurring in bow usage in the French school at the time.

van Swieten, publishers' catalogues contained too large a quantity of music from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to be easily reconciled with what is known of concert programmes or the performance repertoires in private settings.<sup>65</sup>

As the acknowledged father of the string quartet, Haydn's role amidst the flurry of string quartet and other chamber music activity in Vienna was more than just that of composer. As Kapellmeister at Esterháza until the Kapelle was disbanded, he had done much to foster the growth of chamber music and increased the musical consciousness of many of his players by also serving as composition teacher to them. Luigi Tomasini (1741-1808), Haydn's Konzertmeister and composition pupil at Esterháza, performed as leader of a quartet in the Vienna Hofburg in 1781. With his pervasive presence in both places, Anton Kraft is one of the strongest links between the Esterháza of the 1780s and Vienna at the turn of the century. The violinist Nicola Mestrino (1748-1789), in the Esterháza Kapelle 1780-85, shows distinct parallels with Haydn in his choice of instrumental devices (e.g. use of *sull' una corda* and *bariolage*), evidence of a shared body of technical features which were capturing the fascination of players and composers at this time.

Mozart's interaction with Viennese string playing between 1780 and his

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<sup>65</sup> A glance at the offerings in manuscript of Breitkopf and Härtel (*Verzeichnis geschriebener Musikalien*, AmZ, 21 Sep 1803) gives some idea of the seemingly archaic items apparently still of interest in this period. The listing includes: 'Solos für Violine' by Porpora, Pugnani, Tartini, Telemann, and Vivaldi; 'Terzetts für Violine' by Albinoni, Pepusch, Pergolesi, and Torelli; 'Solos für Violoncell' by Barrière, Lanzetti, and Vivaldi; and among the 'Sachen für Viola d'amore' one 'Parthie' by Biber [!], presumably the Partia VII in c minor for two violas d'amore and basso continuo from Biber's *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa* (Nuremberg, 1712).

death was considerably less significant than Beethoven's.<sup>66, 67</sup> Mozart had written his five violin concerti for his own performance in Salzburg in 1775, six years before he took up residence in Vienna in 1781, by which time he had sworn off violin playing. His formative encounters with violinists before this time, starting with his father, were made in the course of his frequent travels. The Mannheim school, which according to Eugen Hellsberg (II, p. 4) had much in common with the Vienna 'school', seems to have appealed to Mozart. He was particularly taken by the playing of Ignaz Fränzl (1736-1811) whom he heard in Munich in 1771.<sup>68</sup> The Mannheim violinist and student of Viotti Friedrich Johann Eck (1767-1838) was in Vienna in 1786. He brought Viotti's e minor violin concerto to Mozart who added trumpet and timpani parts.<sup>69</sup> In 1784 Mozart heard Regina Strinasacchi (1764-1839) in Vienna. Impressed with her playing<sup>70</sup> he wrote the violin part to the sonata in B-flat major (K. 454) for her and performed it with her at the second of her two concerts in Vienna that year.

It is largely through Joseph Böhm (1795-1876), who remained active later

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<sup>66</sup> Peter Walls, 'Mozart and the Violin', *Early Music*, 20 (Feb 1992), 7-29 is an unusually well presented article which gives the most complete picture so far of Mozart's understanding of the instrument.

<sup>67</sup> Boris Schwarz, 'Violinists Around Mozart', in *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook*, ed. by Allan W. Atlas (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985) is useful, but is little concerned with issues which bear directly on specifics of string playing.

<sup>68</sup> Walls (p. 14) quotes Anderson's translation of Mozart's letter to his father of 22 November 1777: 'I like his playing very much. You know that I am no great lover of difficulties. He plays difficult things, but his hearers are not aware that they are difficult; they think that they could at once do the same thing themselves. That is real playing. He has too a most beautiful, round tone. He never misses a note, you can hear everything. It is all clear cut. He has a beautiful staccato, played [in] a single [bow], up or down; and I have never heard anyone play a double trill as he does. In a word, in my opinion he is no wizard, but a very sound fiddler.' (Words in brackets are my changes from 'with' and 'bowing'.)

<sup>69</sup> Walls, p. 21. After hearing Viotti perform a concerto in Paris in 1782, Eck was so impressed that he went back to him for lessons in 1785. As this is approximately the time that the modern Tourte-style bow is believed to have been first produced by Tourte, Walls speculates that Eck might have been one of the first to own a Tourte bow, which in turn Mozart might have seen.

<sup>70</sup> Walls, p. 22.



than any other violinist prominent in Vienna between 1780 and 1830, that it has been possible to justify French-school influence in Viennese playing during Beethoven's life. Böhm is the one significant Viennese violinist of this period thought to have studied under a player of the French school. As Rode's pupil, if only briefly, he would have had a solid introduction to the French school. Unfortunately, when and where Rode taught Böhm remain unknown.<sup>71</sup> Much has been made of Rode's influence on Böhm.<sup>72</sup> It is, however, in no way clear that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, such an influence would have been claimed by Böhm or detected by his audiences. His repertoire selection in his well-received début in Vienna, playing solos in the entr'actes at the Burgtheater in 1816, pays tribute to both Paris and Vienna. He played a concerto by Kreutzer and variations by Franz Weiss.<sup>73</sup>

Böhm's influence and violinistic mastery cannot be challenged, giving him the clearest position at the top of the family tree of the modern Viennese school. While Schuppanzigh was away from Vienna (1816-1823) Böhm easily took his place as the pre-eminent quartet leader of the city. He played with greater polish and aplomb than Schuppanzigh and probably more warmth than Mayseder. Beethoven, angry with Schuppanzigh about the quality of the first performance of the quartet, op. 127, withdrew his right to the second

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<sup>71</sup> Moser, I. p. 242. Moser additionally states that Joachim, a Böhm student, was unable to say when or where this study under Rode might have occurred. David Boyden in *MGG* vol.13 (1966) 1769 claims that these studies must have taken place in St. Petersburg some time during Böhm's stay there between 1804 and 1808.

<sup>72</sup> Boris Schwarz in his entry on Böhm (Boehm) in *NG* states that Rode 'influenced him decisively', but Schwarz is clearly a devotee of the French school and Böhm lived long enough to see the French school dominate violin playing in Europe, so that his full adoption of the French approach might have been gradual.

<sup>73</sup> Hanslick, p. 231.

performance in favour of Böhm with Mayseder as his second.<sup>74</sup> Böhm's importance as a teacher—his students included Ernst, Joachim, Dont, and Georg Hellmesberger—guaranteed him a solid reputation. Furthermore, by living and remaining active in Vienna for a half century after Beethoven's death, his stature was able to grow, perhaps retrospectively exaggerating his importance during Beethoven's time. In contrast, Schuppanzigh died in 1830; Mayseder retired from concert life in 1837; and Clement was out of fashion by the 1820s, dying in poverty in 1842. In many ways it makes sense to see Böhm as a turning point in Vienna's musical culture, one of the agents of change ushering in a new era.

### Outside Influences

Despite visits from French violinists to Vienna, developments taking place in France, which were changing the approach to violin playing and teaching, were slow to have an impact on Vienna. Clement was not the only one playing with an older Italian-style bow. Otherwise, it would have been odd for his contemporaries so frequently to have commented so favourably on his playing without calling attention to the type of bow he used. The frontispiece to the 'improved second edition' of Schweigl's *Grundlehre der Violin* (1794) shows a standing violinist playing with a pre-Tourte-style bow, held well up the stick from the heel.<sup>75</sup> Little is known about Schweigl, but his name does show up

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<sup>74</sup> Thayer, p. 976.

<sup>75</sup> Ignaz Schweigl, *Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Grundlehre der Violin, zur Erleichterung der Lehrer und zum Vortheil der Schüler* (Vienna: author, 1794). In fact, the only way in which this edition differs from the first edition of 1786 is the addition of this engraving of a violinist.



amongst the second violins in the orchestra for Beethoven's *Akademie* of 27 February 1814.<sup>76</sup> (Further discussion of different bow types in use as well as changes taking place in instrument disposition and Vienna's slowness to adopt newer bows and violin setups can be found in Chapter 5.)

The French school's endemic emphasis on systematic pedagogical works went against the grain of the more casually organized approaches taken in Vienna. For now a simple comparison of two representative collections, Kreutzer's celebrated 42 *Études ou Caprices* and Ferdinand Kauer's 40 *Fantasien*, will illuminate the divergence in aims between approaches taken in Paris and Vienna. Kreutzer's études, like Kauer's fantasies, were originally forty in number; two were added in subsequent editions. They date from 1796, but the oldest surviving copies are from an 1807 edition.<sup>77</sup> Kauer's work came out about 1800.<sup>78</sup> Two obvious differences strike the eye: Kreutzer's pieces are longer and differently organized. Kreutzer avoids the more unusual keys,<sup>79</sup> while Kauer's ordering of pieces, basically through the circle of fifths, alternating major and relative minor keys,<sup>80</sup> is governed by compositional rather than violin-technical concerns. Broadly speaking the Kreutzer études progress from easier to more

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<sup>76</sup> Albrecht, II, p. 25: letter from Anton Brunner to Beethoven (27 February 1814) constituting an orchestral list and a bill for the services of the players of the *Akademie*.

<sup>77</sup> NG: Kreutzer, works list and *RISM*.

<sup>78</sup> The publication is undated. The catalogue of the Library of Congress estimates 1800. The title page reads: *Scuola pratica overo 40 Fantasien un 40 Fermaden sammt einen Arpeggio für eine Violine...Ferdinand Kauer. [Plate] no. 147...Vienna apresso Giuseppe Eder sul' Graben.*

<sup>79</sup> Kreutzer only exceeds three sharps or flats in four of the études: nos. 8 and 11 in four sharps (both in E) and nos. 22 and 37 in four flats (A-flat and f) with brief episodes in no. 22 in four and five sharps.

<sup>80</sup> He begins with C major descending through flat keys to e-flat minor, then at no. 15 returns to E-flat major ascending through the circle past C major into sharp keys, reaching c-sharp major (no. 35), then moves again through the most common sharp keys (A, D, b, G, e) for the last five fantasies. His closing 'Arpeggio' is an exercise in broken chords across three strings, working through all keys.

difficult, whereas Kauer's *Fantasien*, roughly all on the same technical level, show no such progression. Each of Kreutzer's études isolates one aspect of violin technique for practice, while no sharp technical focus is discernible in Kauer. Kreutzer's études are clearly meant as building blocks in a systematic development of an integrated technical package. Kauer's title, *Scuola prattica*,<sup>81</sup> could suggest the kind of methodical approach taken by Kreutzer, but the actual studies show Kauer more concerned with the training of musicianship, possibly intending the *Fermaden* (cadenzas) in each of the fantasies as models for improvisation or even a ready body of cadenzas which could be slotted into pieces of the corresponding key. The first systematic studies along the lines of Kreutzer's to come out of Vienna would be Mayseder's *Sechs Etüden*, op. 29, first published in 1820 or 1821.<sup>82</sup>

Not only Viennese string players, but also Beethoven, showed less unambiguous interest in the French violin school than has been frequently asserted.<sup>83</sup> The assumption that the more modern style of playing with greater sustaining power, to which Beethoven had only limited exposure, came closer to realizing his musical intentions is no better grounded than the now discredited theory that the heavier actions of the pianos sent him by Érard and Broadwood, possessing greater sustaining power, came closer than the Viennese-action

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<sup>81</sup> Even the Italian of the title might have something to say about Vienna's reluctance to embrace the innovations of the French school at this time.

<sup>82</sup> E. Hellsberg (III, 33) gives publication details for the many editions of these studies. The first edition was Schlesinger (Berlin, 1820-21), followed shortly by Artaria (Vienna, 1821), and at least five more Viennese editions by 1825, together with editions in other countries.

<sup>83</sup> Consider the eagerness of Schwarz (1958), *passim*, and Stowell (1998), pp. 11-19, to prove Beethoven a convert to the charms of the French school.

instruments of the Stein-Streicher family to his musical ideal.<sup>84</sup> These old theories seem to have more to do with justifying claims, of the type that if Beethoven had had a modern Steinway he would have preferred it, than with actually demonstrating anything about Beethoven or his music.

Unfortunately, anecdotal evidence can too easily be interpreted in the manner which best supports a given theory, while ignoring internal clues to the contrary. The story below, which shows that Beethoven liked Kreutzer, is one of several which have led to the view that Beethoven was so convinced by the new French school that he was writing with that school's approach in mind and that that approach could have best realized his intentions.<sup>85</sup>

This *Kreutzer* is a dear, good fellow who during his stay here gave me much pleasure. I prefer his unassuming manner and unaffectedness to *all the extérieur* without *intérieur* of most virtuosi— As the sonata was written for a thoroughly capable violinist, the dedication to him is all the more appropriate—<sup>86, 87</sup>

Read in the context of Beethoven's turbulent friendship and recent falling out with the international virtuoso Bridgetower, whom Beethoven never

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<sup>84</sup> Newman, p. 54-62, acknowledging that Beethoven was never completely happy with any piano available to him, handily deconstructs the myth that Beethoven preferred the more modern types of piano action being developed outside Vienna. Rosenblum, p. 51, strongly supports Newman's interpretation that Beethoven ultimately preferred his Streicher to the English and French instruments.

<sup>85</sup> For example, Boris Schwarz in 'Kreutzer', *NG*, which comes straight from Schwarz (1958) p.440, quotes Beethoven, 'I prefer his modesty and natural behaviour to *all the exterior* without *any interior*, which is characteristic of most virtuosos' immediately after citing Spohr's praise for the Kreutzer brothers as violinists, 'of all the Parisian violinists, they are the most cultivated,' as a comment on the quality of Kreutzer's violin playing. In the original context Beethoven's comment is not conclusively linked to Kreutzer's playing. Furthermore, in the same *NG* article this letter is used as proof that Beethoven heard Kreutzer play. While it is likely Beethoven did hear him play, the text of the letter does not prove it.

<sup>86</sup> Letter of Beethoven to Simrock, dated 4 October 1804, regarding the dedication of the op. 47 violin sonata, quoted from Thayer, p. 341.

<sup>87</sup> Moser (II, p. 104) is considerably more reserved in the conclusions he draws from this Beethoven letter. He quotes the original German: '...dieser Kreutzer ist ein guter, lieber Mensch, der mir bei seinem hiesigen Aufenthalte sehr viel Vergnügen gemacht, seine Anspruchslosigkeit und Natürlichkeit ist mir lieber als alles *Extérieur* oder *Intérieur* der meisten Virtuosen — da die Sonate für einen tüchtigen Geiger geschrieben ist, um so passender ist die Dedication an ihn...'

disparaged as a musician, it seems likely that Beethoven's praise of Kreutzer was at least as much in appreciation of his character as his musical attributes. With Beethoven's 'dear, good fellow' it seems he was commending Kreutzer's personality more than anything else. Writing that 'the sonata was written for a thoroughly capable violinist', Beethoven suggests he had either 'a thoroughly capable violinist' in the abstract in mind or some particular one, such as Bridgetower, but not Kreutzer. Obviously, by dedicating the sonata to Kreutzer, Beethoven recognizes his proficiency, but this letter also shows that the sonata was not conceived specifically for Kreutzer.

In addition to the Viennese emphasis on different violinistic traits from those prominent amongst players of the French school, it seems likely that French-school players did not always make their best impression in Vienna. Clement had defended himself honourably against Viotti in 1793.<sup>88</sup> Kreutzer, accompanying the French ambassador, General Bernadotte to Vienna in 1798 made friends with Beethoven, but seems not to have performed publicly there. According to Spohr's report, Rode, previously his role model, did not play his best when he appeared on 13 January 1813, two weeks after Spohr's own first concert in Vienna. He reported that Rode had simplified the difficult passages and still his playing had been timid and insecure, coming across as 'cold and mannered'.<sup>89</sup> The critic of the *AmZ*, while impressed with Rode's shifts and double stops, shared Spohr's disappointment in the overall impression.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Haas, p. 21.

<sup>89</sup> Hanslick, p. 237.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 'Sein Bogenstrich ist lang und kräftig, sein Ton stark, ja fast zu stark, schneidend; Sprünge und Doppelgriffe gelingen vorzüglich, doch mangelt ihm das, was alle Herzen elektrisirt und hinreißt.' [His bowing is long and powerful, his tone strong, perhaps almost too strong, cutting. Leaps and double stops succeed excellently, but he is lacking that which electrifies and enraptures all hearts.]

Baillot spent time in Vienna in 1805, on his way to Russia, but he too did not perform publicly.<sup>91</sup>

Ironically, two Germans, each respectively considered the founders of German schools of violin and cello playing, might have been more influential as direct disseminators of new French-school practices to Vienna than any of their French counterparts. The violinist Louis Spohr (1784-1859) and the cellist Bernard Romberg (1767-1841) each had successes in Vienna. Both men's careers were dominated by extensive travel, punctuated with periods of being settled in various places across Europe. Though German, they each were thoroughly acquainted with the new French school. Romberg had an appointment as professor at the Paris Conservatoire for two years between the autumn of 1800 and early 1803,<sup>92</sup> and shared a desk with Jean Louis Duport in the Hofkapelle in Berlin in 1805. Spohr's primary teacher was Eck, who in turn had studied with Viotti in Paris in 1792, and Spohr appeared frequently as soloist in Paris between 1807 and 1821. Romberg and Spohr embraced Paris's changes in setup such as longer necks, set at a steeper angle, and the Tourte-style bow. Spohr was director of the Theater an der Wien for two years (1813-1815), so must have had some influence in Vienna during that time. Spohr's temperament however seems to have been alien to Vienna. Despite mentioning many Parisian violinists in his autobiography, he makes no mention of Schuppanzigh there or elsewhere in his writings.<sup>93</sup> Romberg's actual activities in Vienna were fairly limited, passing

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<sup>91</sup> Hanslick, p. 234.

<sup>92</sup> Walden, p. 38.

<sup>93</sup> Spohr was certainly aware of Schuppanzigh. Thayer (p. 567) quotes Beethoven from a letter of thanks he composed for the participants in concerts of *Wellington's Victory* on 8 and 12 December 1813: 'While Herr Schuppanzigh at the head of the violins carried the orchestra by his fiery and expressive playing...Hr. Spohr and Hr. Mayseder, each worthy of leadership because of his art, collaborated in the second and third places...' Spohr, who described in detail Beethoven's

through Vienna in 1795 under Haydn's sponsorship,<sup>94</sup> participating with Beethoven in the first Viennese performance of the two sonatas, op. 5 in 1797,<sup>95</sup> and appearing various subsequent times during concert tours. Additionally Romberg was a youthful friend of Beethoven's in Bonn, and appeared outside Vienna on occasion with Nikolaus Kraft and with Linke. Neither Spohr nor Romberg understood the later works of Beethoven.<sup>96</sup> Each produced influential method books after 1830 which show ample evidence of their synthesis of the ideas of the French school into their own playing.<sup>97</sup>

While Italian string players were less frequently heard in Vienna in the early nineteenth century than previously, the favourable receptions of two Italian artists in Vienna, Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846) and Nicolò Paganini (1782-1840), serve as a reminder of the continued viability of the old Italian school at a time when the French school had already reached its highest achievements. Dragonetti, living in London from 1794, befriended Haydn. Dragonetti came to Vienna in 1798 to visit Haydn, also making Beethoven's acquaintance. Dragonetti played through Beethoven's op. 5, no. 2 cello sonata with the composer in his apartment and Beethoven was 'so delighted and excited that at the close he sprang up and threw his arms around both player and

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playing from a rehearsal for the op. 97 trio which he witnessed, made no mention of his colleague Schuppanzigh who played violin on this occasion. (Tayer, pp. 577-78)

<sup>94</sup> Walden, p. 38.

<sup>95</sup> Moran, p. 13.

<sup>96</sup> Spohr confessed his incomprehension of the late quartets and Romberg claims to have refused Beethoven's offer of a cello concerto, saying that he only played his own music (Herbert Schäfer, *Bernard Romberg: Sein Leben und Wirken* doctoral thesis, University of Bonn (Lübben (Spreewald): Richter & Munkelt, 1931))

<sup>97</sup> Louis Spohr, *Violinschule...mit erläuternden Kupfertafeln* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1832) and Bernard Romberg, *Violoncell-Schule* (Berlin: Trautwein, at the author's expense, 1840)

instrument.<sup>98</sup> He returned to Vienna in 1808, and 1813 when, leading the double basses, he was one of the participants in performances of *Wellington's Victory*. Using a violin only slightly altered from its original baroque disposition and a pre-Tourte-style bow,<sup>99</sup> Paganini pushed the old Italian school to its apotheosis. Paganini did not appear in Vienna until 1828, but the impression he made was overwhelming. Of Paganini's 29 March 1828 performance the critic for the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* (5 April 1828) stated, 'He has to be heard, and heard again, to be believed.'<sup>100</sup> Paganini made such a strong impression on Slavík that he felt compelled to refashion his own technique with Paganini as his model.<sup>101</sup>

Critical reaction to Paganini's performances in Vienna of concertos by Rode and Kreutzer neatly illustrates the stylistic divide that still existed between the French school and Vienna in 1828.<sup>102</sup> After three or four sensationally successful concerts in which he had been heard in his own compositions, the violinists of Vienna wanted an opportunity to hear Paganini on an equal footing with other violinists, playing pieces not tailored to his personal technique. He complied with two concertos, one each by Kreutzer and Rode. The critic for the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* wrote of these two performances:

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<sup>98</sup> Thayer (p. 208) quoting Samuel Appleby of Brighton to whom Dragonetti related this episode.

<sup>99</sup> Among other places, Paganini's earlier type of bow is memorialized on one side of a silver medal, created especially in his honour, engraved by Joseph Lang, bestowed on him by the emperor during his four months in Vienna. (Borer, p. 14)

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Courcy, Geraldine I. C. de, *Paganini, the Genoese* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) pp. 264-65.

<sup>101</sup> Boris Schwarz, 'Die Violinbehandlung bei Schubert', in *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Werke Franz Schuberts*, Report of the 1974 conference at Vienna, ed. by Roswitha Karpf, *Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis* 4 (Munich: Katzschneider, 1981), p. 91.

<sup>102</sup> This entire account is based on Courcy's much fuller retelling of the events, pp. 266-67.

...on both occasions the composer's individual style disappeared in the ingenious treatment of the executant...The authors' ideas were all there, but in a more spiritualized, deeper, more powerful, and nobler speech, which etherealized the formal beauty of the original.<sup>103</sup>

In contrast, Fétis, remembering Paganini's appearances in Paris a short time later with the same two pieces, wrote in 1852:

He did not rise above the mediocre....The unfavourable impression he made in Paris with the two aforesaid works was a lesson to him. Since then he stopped playing music but his own.<sup>104</sup>

To the Viennese, Paganini's remoulding of these French pieces only improved them, whereas the Parisians could not stand to hear such pinnacles of their own music distorted to fit Paganini's approach.

### Viennese Treatises

Historians, writing after the universal acceptance of the major innovations of the French school, have mistaken the rudimentary nature of Viennese violin and cello treatises published between 1780 and 1830 for a dearth of information about the practices of the period. The only attempt to digest and analyse entire Viennese pedagogical works from this period comes from Stolba.<sup>105</sup> Stowell's extensive list of instruction books for the violin, c. 1760 - c. 1840, includes eight treatises published in Vienna,<sup>106</sup> but none is treated in any detail in the body of

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<sup>103</sup> As cited in Courcy, p. 267.

<sup>104</sup> As cited in Courcy, p. 267.

<sup>105</sup> K. Marie Stolba, *A History of the Violin Etude to about 1800* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979). She examines Schweigl's works and includes several facsimile pages excerpted from them (pp. 121-128). She also discusses the technical studies of Pichl (pp. 208ff.)

<sup>106</sup> pp. 370-372. The eight published in Vienna between 1780 and 1830 are: Schweigl (1786; 1794), Kauer (1787), Schweigl (1795), Lefils (c. 1800), Kauer (1800), Wranitzky (1804), Blumenthal (1812), Blumenthal (1829).



the book.<sup>107</sup> These treatises have fared little better in recent articles and chapters of collaborative works devoted to the string playing or performance practices of this period.<sup>108</sup>

It is not clear whether the many French treatises of around the turn of the century, such as the Paris Conservatoire method by Baillot, et al. (Paris, 1803) for violin or Duport (Paris, 1806)<sup>109</sup> for cello, received attention from Viennese players, but demand was high enough for locally produced items to suggest that Vienna was able to meet the need for pedagogical material, at least in large part, on its own. Demand for Wagenseil's *Rudimenta panduristae* (1754)<sup>110</sup> despite fierce competition from Leopold Mozart's *Versuch*, first published two years later by the same publisher, was high enough to require several new editions at least until 1778.<sup>111</sup> Though hardly a violin treatise, various versions of Fux's duets, circulated in manuscript, were valued pedagogical material for the

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<sup>107</sup> Blumenthal (1829), a guide to harmonics, is mentioned in passing (p. 4); Schweigl's (1786) *Züruckweichung der Hand* and its role in avoiding unwanted slides is mentioned (p. 88); Schweigl (1794-95) is cited as one of the first German methods to discuss scordatura; and an example from Schweigl (without more specific designation) illustrates the use of trills on the lower note of a sequence of tenths played in double stops (p. 333).

<sup>108</sup> The notable exception is Robin Stowell, 'Leopold Mozart Revised: Articulation in Violin Playing During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' in *Perspectives on Mozart Performance*, ed. by R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) pp. 126-157 which examines the 1806 Vienna edition of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch*. The manuscript *Violinfundament* discussed in Murányi is not a treatise, but rather a collection of duets to be used for learning to play the violin.

<sup>109</sup> It should be noted that Duport did soon appear in a bilingual (French-German) edition, but this edition drastically abridged the second part, dealing with the bow, and did not include the twenty-one études: *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet, dédié aux professeur de violoncelle par J. L. Duport* (Milan: Ferd. Artaria, n.d.) pl. no. 2599.

<sup>110</sup> Though not conclusively proven, authorship of the anonymous *Rudimenta panduristae* is attributed to Wagenseil. This attribution has not been seriously challenged and is accepted or perpetuated by nearly all modern authorities including Stowell (1985), Stolba (1979), RISM, and Boyden (1965) who claims (p. 360) that Wagenseil was actually the author and furthermore that Leopold Mozart became aware of this treatise in about 1755 but did not actually see a copy before his own *Versuch* was published the following year.

<sup>111</sup> Most sources give 1754 as the date for this treatise. Stowell (p. 398) gives 1751 with a fourth edition of 1770. The Library of Congress has an edition of 1778.

violin.<sup>112, 113</sup> Leopold Mozart's *Versuch* enjoyed two different Viennese revisions, Joseph Pirlinger's *Violin-Schule* (1799)<sup>114, 115</sup> and the anonymously revised Viennese *Violin-Schule* (1806).<sup>116</sup> (A list of all the string treatises published in Vienna in this period can be found in the bibliography.)

The most surprising thing about the Viennese versions of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch* and the methods newly published in Vienna in this period is that there are no real surprises. Stowell has argued that the evolution of violin playing in the classical period can be traced through the various re-editions and revisions of Leopold Mozart,<sup>117</sup> but what comes through most strongly in the two Viennese editions is how little change they witness. The discernible changes through the editions are worth noting and can be organized in such a way to fit with a preconceived theory, say, that from 1750 to 1800 the legato stroke gradually replaced a shorter, more articulated stroke as the basic bow stroke. It is, however, debatable whether such a smooth theory is complex enough to adequately describe the geographically separated developments over this half

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<sup>112</sup> Wranitzky, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Murányi, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup> Leopold Mozart, *Neue vollständige und praktische Violin-Schule für Lehrer und Lernende*, ed. by Joseph Pirlinger (Vienna: Christian Gottlob Täubel, 1799-1800).

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Pirlinger (1726-1793) was a member of the Hofkapelle from 1789 until his death (Köchel: Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle, p. 90). His revision and abridgement of Leopold Mozart was published posthumously. His didactic violin duos were probably also published in various forms after his death. A copy of the Dutch edition of these duets survives at the Library of Congress: *Dodeci facile Duettini per scolare delle principie del violino, composto secondo il stilo presente da Gius. Pirlingerio* (Rotterdam: Plattner, n.d.) pl. no. 527. As the title page of his edition of the Mozart *Violin-Schule* includes the term 'Erster Theil' but nothing labelled as the second part survives, it is possible that these duets, with their highly pedagogical bowings, were intended to form the second part.

<sup>116</sup> Leopold Mozart, *Violin-Schule oder Anweisung die Violin zu spielen von Leopold Mozart. Neue umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe* (Vienna: Cappi, [1806]).

<sup>117</sup> Stowell (1991), p. 127 et passim.

century. The methods of Schweigl, Kauer, Wranitzky, like the methods of Kürzinger (1763; 2nd edn 1780; 3rd edn 1793) and Kobrich (1787) published in Augsburg are really only suitable for training beginners the fundamentals. Even Mozart's *Versuch* in any of its revisions hardly equips a player for much of what is standard fare in the first violin part of one of the later Mozart or Haydn quartets not to mention Beethoven's op. 59, written about the same time (1805-06) the anonymous Viennese revision of Mozart appeared (1806).

It is tempting to fill the technical gap between rudimentary Viennese treatises and the musical requirements of Viennese compositions. Treatises of the French school, or better yet Spohr's thorough tome, which cogently set out the way to advanced technique and sometimes even give examples of how to play specific passages in Viennese music, seem to fit the bill, but when did anyone learn to play an instrument at the highest level from a book? Anyway, even if method books were the best place to find clues to the practices of the time, Baillot and Spohr are not necessarily the first ones to consult for the practices of Vienna. It does seem that the Viennese only very gradually adopted the French innovations and it is far from clear how much influence Spohr had during his time in Vienna.

Direct, apprentice-style learning must have been the most important form of training. The strong teacher-student relationships, such as those between Dittersdorf and Trani; the Krafts, father and son; or the brothers Wranitzky played a large part in guaranteeing sound guidance down the path to artistic maturity. Another key component was the busy musical life which afforded unprecedented opportunities for co-operation between players and composers and for very young players to learn directly from older, more seasoned

musicians playing alongside them.

The paucity of treatment for intermediate and advanced techniques in Viennese sources suggests a lack of standardization amongst advanced players. As pupils advanced beyond the instructions of written methods, they would have to work out their own solutions with the guidance of teachers who would not be following standard written texts. Such an approach would make sense in a culture where musical skill is widely expected and creative solutions to tricky problems are appreciated.

Ultimately, instrumental method books might have had little part in the training of professional string players in Vienna, but their rudimentary nature does not preclude their value as a window onto Viennese practices. Some of them deserve more attention than they have yet received. Even instructions in how to execute the simplest task can shed light on which practices might have been common. I will give one example here of how significant information can be extracted from modest sources when considered from various angles, but save further analysis of treatises for the appropriate places in the subsequent chapters.

Where scales go beyond first position Schweigl (1794) consistently gives a fingering which favours small shifts, emphasizes the duple metric organization of his scale examples, and avoids ever having the hand go into a higher position than is required for the highest note.

Ex. 1.1: 'Scala Intonation in F', Schweigl (1794) p. 26



Schweigl has made clear in earlier examples (pp. 4-5) that up to the g'' on the E string the scale is to be played in first position, using open strings wherever possible rather than fourth finger, meaning that bar 4 has to be fingered 1-2-1-2, giving a series of small shifts for the upper octave. Shifts occur only on metrically strong beats.

Schweigl's fingerings for other scales match this pattern, suggesting a rudimentary system where the small shifts, in addition to reinforcing metrical stress, give the hand a more stable foundation to aid in supporting an instrument not equipped with chin rest.

Ex. 1.2: 'Scala Intonation in G', Schweigl (1794) p. 34



The fingering for the G major scale is musically consistent with the F major. The fingering of the final octave, which again outlines the tonic triad on metrically strong beats, matches step to step with F major. (Again, the lower part of the scale, before the final octave, is assumed to be in first position with open strings.) The F major scale happens to use third and fifth positions. In the G major, for the sake of consistency, it was necessary to use the second, fourth, and sixth positions, sometimes considered less secure than the odd-numbered positions. Schweigl's other scales all fit into the pattern established here.

The fact of having each scale written with fingering, each one following the same simple principle, reinforces the system as a foundation. The scale neatly fitted to the metre is musically neutral in meaning and small deviations

expressive meaning. In the remainder of this thesis, when practices are considered in light of actual music, it will become apparent how such simple foundations can provide a background against which instrumental technique can be infinitely altered to effect real musical expression.

Knowledge of the state of string playing in Vienna, especially an awareness of the key roles played by different individuals, provides an important background for examination of the practices revealed in the musical and pedagogical sources considered in the following chapters. Vienna did not readily adopt the approach of the French school and in general seems to have witnessed more heterogeneity of style than centres such as Paris, where pedagogy was institutionalized earlier. It becomes clear that individual Viennese players exerted influence at different times. Awareness of the careers and pedigrees of the various Viennese players helps establish the significance of their styles for the music of different composers and for specific pieces of music.

## 2. Diverse Fingering Practices

### Overview: Basic Assumptions

Any plausible reconstruction of Viennese fingering practices must adequately account for a multiplicity of players' approaches. Playing standards ranged from the eager amateur to the professional virtuoso. Even among the many fine professional players a great degree of variation based on personal taste can be documented.<sup>1</sup> Compositions by Viennese string players evidence contrasting approaches to their instruments, especially with regard to left-hand usage and facility.<sup>2</sup> In order to be useful, a reconstruction of these practices must not only identify them, but also place them in their appropriate contexts, clearly delineating the special practices of specific players from the general tendencies common to most Viennese string playing.

Widely circulated treatises of the day, such as those of Schweigl, Kauer, and the various editions of Leopold Mozart contain a large body of shared basic fingering principles, which must reflect underlying common practices of the day. These method books would have played formative roles in shaping the techniques of many amateurs, while reflecting, in microcosm, the important

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<sup>1</sup> For example Anton Kraft's use of thumb position on the cello shows an audacious willingness to leap directly from a neck position to a note fingered with the thumb in thumb position, whereas Linke, like many later players, tends to seek fingerings which more conservatively creep to the thumb, saving large leaps for the fingers.

<sup>2</sup> Approaches to bowing and tone production must have varied at least as much as fingering, but the evidence is necessarily more circumstantial.

characteristics of the playing of some of the best professional string players. The fundamentals described in these treatises form the unifying foundations at the core of most players' techniques. Even players whose styles of playing contradicted the advice of the tutors would certainly have been familiar with the concepts described therein. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Leopold Mozart's *Versuch* remained one of the most highly regarded violin treatises in Europe, especially in German-speaking areas.<sup>3</sup> Along with the assistance of a good teacher, Mozart's *Versuch* was generally acknowledged as the best method for training professional violinists. Schweigl and Kürzinger both emphasize that any really serious violinist must study Mozart. Kürzinger states that 'those who really take to heart the thorough learning of violin playing will do well to procure themselves Mr Mozart's Violin School, which does an extraordinary job and costs only two Gulden, straight from the beginning.'<sup>4</sup> However, the less comprehensive methods such as Schweigl, designed for teaching children and amateurs the rudiments of violin playing, merit careful analysis and thorough reading too. When numerous treatises share the same basic principles, this common core probably reflects the common assumptions which underlie the various divergent approaches.

Because amateurs of all standards took such an active part in the musical life of Vienna, the possibility that some players' abilities extended only slightly beyond the material in methods such as Schweigl, Kürzinger, and Kauer cannot

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<sup>3</sup> Robin Stowell, 'Leopold Mozart Revised: Articulation in Violin Playing During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in *Perspectives on Mozart Performance*, ed. by R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) pp. 126-157, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> 'Doch thun diejenig, denen es vom Herzen ernst ist, die Violine gründlich spielen zu lernen, recht wohl daran, wenn sie sich Herrn Mozarts Violin Schule, welche ungemeine Dienste thut, und nur zwei Gulden kostet, alsogleich bey dem Anfang anschaffen.' Kürzinger, p. 54. Kürzinger's humorous mention of the price reflects the fact that his method and Mozart were both published by Johann Jacob Lotter, but does not detract from his recommendation which was echoed by many authors.



be dismissed. After a disappointing afternoon of quartets with amateurs on 17 December 1815, Michael Frey, the violinist and future Hofkapellmeister at Mannheim, wrote:

One would not believe that in Vienna there can be such bad amateurs as I have found here. They do not even get all the notes right, play totally out of time, but are nevertheless so pleased with it, that they do not hear.<sup>5</sup>

In order for these treatises to have gained popularity they must have met a need and broadly mirrored fundamental assumptions about string playing which might be harder to detect in works aimed at players who had fully internalized rudimentary technique, treatises likely to offer a more individualized viewpoint. Ultimately, the broad dissemination of these primary methods suggests that at some level they succeeded in imparting a commonly accepted core technique. These methods, by themselves, are incapable of describing a technical apparatus which could do justice to a Beethoven sonata or the first violin part in a Mozart or Haydn quartet. They are incomplete, arbitrarily treating some aspects of playing while completely ignoring other equally important or even more fundamental points. It must, however, be borne in mind that these treatises were not read in isolation, but were used as one of many tools in Vienna's lively musical culture. For some amateurs of lesser financial means, methods such as these might represent the only formal training they would have undergone. They would, though, have greatly augmented their learning from these methods with their practical experiences of music making alongside more advanced players. Examining the full range of pedagogical material produced in and

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<sup>5</sup> 'Mann soll nicht glauben, daß es in Wien so schlechte Musikliebhaber giebt, wie ich sie hier gefunden habe. Sie treffen nicht einmal ihre Noten, spielen ganz ohne allen Takt, sind aber so beruhigt dabey, daß sie es garnicht hören.' The passage is quoted from a complete transcription of Frey's diary kept during his stay in Vienna between November 1815 and April 1816 in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, 'Das Wiener Tagebuch des Mannheimer Hofkapellmeisters Michael Frey', *Beethoven Jahrbuch*, 6 (1965/68), p.153.

around Vienna at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, which both reflected and, to a smaller extent, influenced the common practices, is necessary to ensure a complete view of string playing in Vienna.

A hypothetical reconstruction of Viennese fingering practices based just on the treatises circulating at the time can serve as a backdrop against which the more specialized practices of serious, individual players can be viewed. The following principles, which I will document in turn, form a body of practices which are common to the various treatises:

- First position is widely used when possible.
- Playing a phrase or passage in one position across strings is normal practice.
- The use of higher positions for their darker colour is beloved as a special effect but not considered the routine style.
- Stopped notes can be used in place of open strings, but open strings are not categorically avoided.
- An effort is made to play analogous passages with the same or similar fingerings.
- Smaller shifts are preferred to bigger ones.
- Shifts occur preferably at points of articulation, such as repeated notes or beginnings of figures or phrases.
- Fingering two consecutive notes in step-wise passages with the same finger, usually the fourth or first, is a feature of the style, especially of violinists.
- Vibrato might be used sparingly to colour specific notes.

Several features of Viennese string playing can be assimilated into the

general principle that shifting was minimized: small shifts were generally preferred to large ones and normally the hand did not shift into a higher position than necessary. This principle incorporates the wide-spread use of first position as well as the preferences for smaller shifts, the use of shifts at points of articulation, and the consecutive use of the same finger in shifts. Smaller, and therefore more frequent, shifts were employed whenever possible. Small shifts make technical sense on a violin not equipped with a chin rest or shoulder support. Musically they can be an effective way of cleanly underpinning the line. The typical way of moving up the fingerboard in scalar passages was to shift every two notes, making for shifts of major and minor thirds. On the violin this was done alternating either the first and second<sup>6</sup> or second and third fingers<sup>7</sup>, while on the cello the first finger was alternated with the second or third, according to the sequence of whole and half steps. This type of shifting pattern for scales which tended to pair the notes was particularly apt for passages with even-numbered groupings of notes. In scalar passages moving in triple groupings the fingering pattern could be extended to include three notes per position, though in practice many players neglected this fine point.<sup>8</sup>

The corollary to the principle of small shifts was the common practice of shifting a whole or half step on the same finger, usually fourth or first, or even extending the fourth or first finger to play two consecutive notes in the same position with one finger.<sup>9</sup> The small distances between intervals on the violin

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<sup>6</sup> Mozart, ch. 8, sec. 1, § 9.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, § 12.

<sup>8</sup> See ex. 4.16 in Chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> See Mozart ch. 8, sec. 1, § 8 and § 10, and sec. 2, § 10 and § 13. For an example of an extension being used in consecutive double stops to smooth the voice leading see Schweigl (1794), p. 46.

meant that this technique could be used to sneak from one position to another imperceptibly.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, when a phrase went just slightly beyond the range of a hand position, the use of an extension could help maintain a consistency of timbre and avoid the interruption of a string crossing.<sup>11</sup>

Explicit discussion of vibrato was rare, but the specific instances of its discussion demonstrate that the practice existed, if only as an ornament. When mentioned at all, it was always considered alongside other ornaments and not discussed with regard to tone production. No consistent term was used to designate it. Its continuous, or even frequent, use was not a feature of string playing in Beethoven's Vienna.<sup>12</sup> Thanks to Leopold Mozart's interest in this ornament Pirlinger considers '*Tremulo*' in some detail, and seems to share Mozart's fondness for this ornament. He states that 'this ornament springs from Nature herself'.<sup>13</sup> Unlike many places in his text, Pirlinger sticks very close to Mozart's wording, devoting a full three pages to the topic.<sup>14</sup> His only omission is

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<sup>10</sup> Some cellists safely distant from Vienna, who eventually had widespread influence on cello playing, were fundamentally opposed to same-finger shifting. It is interesting to note that John Gunn who first complained of this practice in 1793 had as a subscriber to his treatise John Crostill, an English cellist who had studied in Paris with Jean Pierre Duport at the same time as Jean Louis Duport was a pupil of his older brother. Jean Louis became friends with Crostill and they remained in contact for many years, so it is possible that Crostill transmitted this idea to Duport, an idea which Gunn claimed few other cellists followed and he was the first to advocate.

<sup>11</sup> Mozart, ch. 8, sec. 2, § 10, omitted by Pirlinger.

<sup>12</sup> Spohr (1832) and Romberg (1840) still consider vibrato an ornament and give instruction in its sparing use.

<sup>13</sup> Pirlinger, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> It is worth quoting Pirlinger at length: 'Der Tremulo ist eine Auszierung, die aus der Natur selbst entspringt, und die nicht nur von geschickten Tonkünstlern sondern auch von Sängern bey Aushaltung langer Noten gemacht werden; ich sage, er entspringt aus der Natur; denn wenn wir eine schlaffe Saite oder eine Glocke stark anschlagen, so hören wir nach dem Schlage eine gewisse wellenförmige Schwebung (*ondeggiamento*) des angeschlagenen Tones; und diesen zitternden Nachklang nennt man Tremulo, oder auch Tremulanten.

Man bemüht sich, dieses natürliche Zittern auf den Geigeninstrumenten nachzuahmen, wenn man den Finger auf der Saite stark niederdrückt, und mit der ganzen Hand eine Bewegung, die gegen den Steg und zurück nach den Schnecken gehen muß, macht; den gleich wie der zurückbleibende Klang einer anschlagenden Saite oder Glocke nicht rein in Einem fortklingt,

Mozart's description of 'some players who vibrate on every note as if they had the palsy.'<sup>15</sup> Judging from Pirlinger's usually pedantic attitude, it seems unlikely that he disagreed with Mozart and liked such a mannerism, so perhaps he was not coming across players who vibrated on every note in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century. He limits the use of *Tremulo*, suggesting possible places to employ it, such as on long notes before cadential ornaments, on final notes, and on syncopated notes.<sup>16</sup> Other Viennese tutors of the period are silent on the matter, but about the same time Kürzinger (Augsburg, 1793) used the term 'Vibrato' broadly to designate a variety of left- and right-hand techniques which he found too complicated to describe in writing.<sup>17</sup> Kobrich (Augsburg, 1787) stated that vibrato belonged to long sustained notes and final notes, essentially agreeing with what Mozart had written thirty years earlier, but adding a comment implying that the ability to execute a good vibrato was expected.<sup>18</sup>

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sondern bald zu hoch bald zu tief schwebet; eben so muß man durch die Bewegung der Hand vor- und rückwärts diese Schwebung genau nachzuahmen suchen.'

[*Tremulo* is an ornament that springs from Nature herself, and which is employed not only by skilful instrumentalists but also by singers in sustaining long notes. I say it springs from Nature, for if we strongly strike a slack string or a bell, then we hear after the stroke a certain wave-shaped tremor (*ondeggiamento*) of the stuck tone. This trembling reverberation is called *Tremulo* or *Tremulanten*. ¶ One endeavours to imitate this natural trembling on violins and other bowed instruments by pressing the finger down firmly on the string and making a movement with the entire hand which go towards the bridge and back towards the scroll, for in the same way that the lingering sound of a stuck string or bell does not resonate purely in one tone, but rather at once hovers too high and then too low. Likewise with the movement of the hand forwards and backwards one must try to imitate this tremor exactly.] p. 86.

<sup>15</sup> 'Es giebt schon solche Spieler, die bey ieder Note beständig zittern, als wenn sie das immerwächsende Fieber hätten.' ch. 11, § 3. The equivalent place in Pirlinger on p. 86 omits this.

<sup>16</sup> Pirlinger, pp. 86-88, parallel to Mozart, ch. 11, § 2-7.

<sup>17</sup> 'Vibrato — Von unterschiedlicher Führung des Bogens, Wendung der Fingerspitzen, und andern, muß der Lehrmeister allemal selbst Handanlegend den Unterricht geben, weil sich dies alles nicht so natürlich beschreiben läßt.' [Vibrato—of various manners of bow management, turning of the finger tips, and other things, the teacher must always give instruction with his own hands, because these things do not so naturally lend themselves to description.] Kürzinger, pp. 69-70. Note also the importance of the instructor in transmitting the finer technical details.


<sup>18</sup> § 22 Von der Bebung (Ondeggiamento.) Diese wird mit . . . , oder  bezeichnet. Sie gehört über lange haltende, oder Schlußnoten, und wird gemacht: man hält den Finger auf dem Tone, worauf man die Bebung machen will, fest, dann machet man mit der hand [sic] eine Bewegung

Several features of Viennese common practice suggest a style of music-making in which continuous vibrato would be out of place or impossible. The use of open strings eliminates the possibility of vibrato on those notes. The open strings would stand out sorely were vibrato used everywhere else, so, logically, it must have been employed in a restrained manner. Also indicative of a taste for pure, vibrato-free tone was the rapid spread of interest in harmonics evidenced by the reception of the many tutors specifically treating the playing of harmonics.<sup>19</sup>

### Documenting Players' Practices

The role of fingering in string playing has changed drastically since Beethoven's time. In order to understand the central position that fingering had in nuancing the musical line it is important to bear in mind that evenness of sound, characteristic of most late twentieth-century playing, was not a feature of string playing before the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> Sound production was not based

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vorwärts, und rückwärts, so daß eine Schwebung nach der Höhe, und Tiefe gehört werde. Nämlich eine willenförmige [sic] Bewegung. ... § 23 Diese sind nun die Stücke, welche einem Lehrlinge zu wissen höchst nothwendig sind, der sich aber sehr üben muß, wenn er mit der Zeit brauchbar werden will.' [Of the *Bebung* (*ondeggiamento*) This is indicated with . . . or . It belongs on long, held notes or final notes, and is made thus: one holds the finger securely on the tone on which one wants to make the *Bebung*; then one makes a tremor high and low, namely a wave-shaped movement...] Kobrich, pp. 33-34.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Schweigl, *Zweiter Teil* (Vienna, 1795), Lefils (Vienna, 1800), Guhr (Mainz, 1829), Blumenthal (Vienna, 1829).

<sup>20</sup> Recordings of string players from the 1920s and earlier generally demonstrate a more articulated approach to sound production where vibrato is used to colour some or even many notes, but is not a constant feature of the sound. Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962), who in 1885 became the youngest graduate of the Vienna Conservatory, is widely credited with being the first prominent violinist to employ a continuous vibrato. (For more on the advent of continuous vibrato in the early twentieth century see Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 97-108 and Robert Philip, 'Traditional Habits of Performance in Early-Twentieth-Century Recordings of Beethoven' in *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 195-96.) However, even Kreisler, as exemplified, among other places, in his 1930 recording of his

on the premise of extremely long lines, seamless legato, and continuous vibrato. Line and singing quality were important aspects of playing, but eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century concepts of line did not yet carry the idea of unbroken *sostenuto*, and singing was closely tied to natural speech rhythms, where the punctuation of the line was every bit as important to its coherence as smooth *sostenuto* would be later. To reconstruct the practices of Haydn's and Beethoven's Vienna, it is necessary to put the sound ideals of the twentieth century out of mind. Earlier, the inherent unevenness in shifting and changing fingers was not seen as a technical deficiency, but was used to artistic advantage. Fingerings were arranged so that innate inequalities underlined musical expression.

Before looking at what documentation survives of Viennese fingering practices it is important to consider the many ways in which fingerings can be used musically and the various ways that fingering choices can be indicated. Fingering practices are most clearly documented in the special cases where a written fingering for an actual passage of music exists. The most obvious type of written fingering is when numerals or other symbols are written above or below notes indicating exactly which finger is to play each marked note. Normally it is sufficient to mark fingerings just on pivotal notes in a passage, especially at position changes, to make the fingering of every note in the passage clear. When a codified fingering system is internalized by the player the fingering of an entire movement can be clear with a minimum of marking. Fingerings can also be indicated by marking in which position or on which string, either symbolically

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own arrangement of the second movement *Larghetto* from Weber's op. 10 violin sonata, has an approach to line which would be seen as old fashioned today. It is much more punctuated with audible articulations and changes in colour than is now standard. His vibrato is not quite continuous and his bow changes are not quite seamless.

or with a directive such as *sul corda* G, a given passage is to be played. Examples of all of these types of indications exist printed in contemporaneous editions of Viennese string music and, more rarely, in autographs and manuscripts or as manuscript annotations to printed music. Additionally, fingerings can be dictated by context. Often in multiple stopping or chordal figuration only one practical fingering exists for a given passage and, of course, the lowest note on each instrument must always be an open string.<sup>21</sup>

Surviving fingering indications are one of the most immediate clues to actual playing practices. When these indications go back to the composer they can provide valuable clues towards clarifying the composer's intended interpretation of a passage. Where a composer goes to the trouble to supply a fingering, he indicates that he wants an interpretation which could not be conveyed by the notes alone and is probably calling for something different from what would otherwise have been standard practice. Fingerings stemming from players provide valuable insights into the players' practices, which can, according to the individual circumstances, shed light on general practices of the era and locality. When it can be documented that a fingering was supplied by a player who was working directly with the composer, the fingering probably realizes the composer's intentions to the fullest possible extent within the player's ability, illuminating both the composer's intentions and practice of the player. Each fingering, however, must be considered on its own merits to determine whether it is provided for musical reasons, or, like many of the later nineteenth-century editorial fingerings, is given to provide an easy technical solution, making the music more readily playable by the amateur or student, thereby possibly

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<sup>21</sup> William Drabkin, 'Beethoven and the Open String', *Music Analysis*, 4 (1985), 15-28.



increasing the potential sales of the music.

While the aim in pedagogical material was to establish a normative practice, either prescriptive or descriptive, fingerings in musical sources are more likely to reflect departures from, than to point directly towards, the common practice. Up into the middle of the nineteenth century fingering indications outside of pedagogical material are relatively rare, even in parts known to have been used for performance, except in very difficult passages in virtuoso solo music. It seems that players' fingering practices were well enough established, that the fingerings they would use in most of the music they played came to them automatically. Therefore, fingering indications were generally only provided in situations where the standard practice did not suggest a single, typical solution, or where an exception to the typical solution was being recommended. Alternatively, fingerings might be supplied where the passage was difficult enough that the aid of a simple figure or two might mean the difference between a smoothly interpreted phrase and a botched passage.

Apart from fingering indications in music the next most obvious source of information on fingering practices are the instrumental methods and tutors. These, however, present two difficulties for the reconstruction of the full spectrum of Viennese practices. The treatises which are closest, historically and geographically, to Viennese string music of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries remain too rudimentary in their treatment of left-hand technique to establish an integrated system which could have sensitively dealt with much of this music. The treatises which do eloquently construct fingering systems which could meet the challenges of the music head on tend to reflect practices of other centres or to postdate the practices of this period. Care must

also be taken when analysing a treatise to determine whether it is descriptive of general practice or prescriptive of the author's own views, especially when the treatise is written later than, and distant from, the music to which its ideas are to be applied. It can be especially difficult to determine without prejudice whether a treatise is descriptive or prescriptive when in retrospect its statements sound descriptive of more familiar, later practices, which, however, may not have been widespread at the time the treatise was written. In reconstructing Viennese practices treatises such as those of Baillot and Spohr must be approached cautiously. Such treatises are a valuable way to compare what was happening in other centres with Vienna's players' practices, and in isolated cases it is possible that these treatises might document trends which were developing in Vienna, even if not yet documented there. In general, however, it is wise to exert caution in using foreign sources to describe the practices of Vienna. Where Viennese practices differ from widespread trends, modern performers and critics must be aware of the solutions found in Vienna as well as those found elsewhere if they are to form intelligent opinions about the most appropriate and effective performance practices for this music.

A third type of fingering documentation exists, which is more vague than the actual fingering markings or instructions in treatises, but it also gives the clearest idea about what was in style and is useful in forming an idea of the currency and frequency of different practices. This documentation is the evidence of the music itself, especially music written by string players. Examination of this music reveals many passages in which the idiomatic or even the possible fingerings are very limited. Much of the music written by virtuoso string players makes a feature of exploiting the limits of the technique.

Passages where the fingering options are severely limited and thus dictate their own execution often include double and multiple stops, arpeggios, *bariolage*, and *batterie* figures.

### Analysing Players' Practices

Players, as well as composers, who wished to specify a particular type of fingering had several ways in which they could do so. Different fingerings could alter the expression of a passage. The composer and violinist Peter Fuchs (1753-1831), who enjoyed some degree of success as soloist and orchestral player in Vienna, gave a fingering for some virtuosic passage work in his D major sonata.<sup>22</sup>

Ex. 2.1 Sonata for violin and bass, Allegro (first mov.) bars 53-57, Peter Fuchs



position in the middle of the first bar as the note pattern ascends, the player underlines the movement of the line. Furthermore, keeping the same fingering (4 - 2) as the figure rises maintains a consistent articulation from one group to the next. Presumably the player is expected to continue the pattern of shifting and using the fourth and second fingers as the figure ascends further at the beginning of the second bar of the example. Both the shifting and string crossing required by this fingering mean that it is not the easiest fingering for the passage and was not just given by Fuchs to facilitate performance.

Without the fingering supplied by Fuchs some, or perhaps most, players would have arrived at an easier execution for the passage all on the E string. A remarkably similar passage was fingered by Leopold Mozart in just such a technically more expedient manner a little over two decades earlier.<sup>23</sup>

Ex. 2.2 sketch for an unidentified passage, Leopold Mozart.



By avoiding string crossings and unnecessary shifts Mozart's fingering provides the greatest technical security to the player. The purpose of this fingering could be seen as the facilitation of performance. On the other hand, it also has specific musical repercussions. This passage with this fingering, all on the E string, can be performed more smoothly than it could with a fingering analogous to the one

<sup>23</sup> This unidentified fingered passage written in Leopold Mozart's hand is on a page (p. 41) tipped into the autograph of W. A. Mozart's Mass, K. 66 (Salzburg, 1769). I owe thanks to Cliff Eisen for pointing me to this source and supplying a photocopy of it.

Fuchs gives. By limiting himself to first and third positions (with a fourth finger extension for the e''' in the second and third bars) Leopold Mozart has more variety as to which fingers play and where shifts occur, perhaps giving a less predictable phrasing than Fuchs does for his passage.

String players would have played in first position most of the time. In addition to the treatises which all confirm this, either expressly, or tacitly by discussing the use of higher positions only in conjunction with passages where they would be absolutely necessary, Viennese music of the era also supports this. Only in solo music or in some first violin parts is the frequent use of higher positions absolutely necessary. Mozart's and Fuchs's fingerings have something in common with most other fingering indications which survive from the period: they show a way to negotiate playing above first position. Pirlinger, in his edition of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch*, in fact, implies that playing in first position is the norm. Playing in higher positions only occurs to meet one of three criteria:

There are three causes which justify the use of higher positions, namely: necessity, comfort, and elegance. It is out of necessity, if additional [ledger] lines are drawn above the usual five [lines of the staff]; out of comfort, if several notes are set together so that they cannot otherwise be played without discomfort; out of elegance, if several notes come one after another in a cantabile, which one, for reasons of beauty, plays on one string.<sup>24</sup>

In other words, Pirlinger, as spokesman for Mozart, sanctioned the use of higher positions when a passage went too high for first position, when passage work would be awkward in first position, and when for tonal reasons it was desirable

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<sup>24</sup> 'Es giebt drey Ursachen, die den Gebrauch der Applikatur rechtfertigen: nämlich die Nothwendigkeit, die Bequemlichkeit und die Zierlichkeit. Aus Nothwendigkeit, wenn mehr Linien über die fünf gewöhnlichen gezogen sind; aus Bequemlichkeit, wenn mehrere Noten so über einander gesetzt sind, daß sie ohne Unbequemlichkeit nicht anders können abgespielt werden; aus Zierlichkeit, wenn mehrere nahe an einander stehende Noten in einem Cantabile vorkommen, die man der Schönheit wegen auf einer Saite spielt.' Pirlinger, p. 43.

to keep a passage on one string. Both sources stress the importance of not using higher positions more than necessary by always arranging shifts so that the highest note of a passage will be played by the fourth finger.<sup>25</sup> One way or another Pirlinger's transmission of Mozart's ideas omits some of what Mozart had originally written about the use of higher positions for reasons of elegance:

And finally one uses the [higher] positions for the sake of elegance, if near together notes come, which are cantabile, and can easily be played on one string. Thereby one obtains not only similarity of tone but also a more cohesive and singing performance.<sup>26</sup>

Both authors clearly imply that playing above first position is the exception and should not be undertaken without reason. Their terminology privileges first position, since everything but first position is called 'Applikatur'.<sup>27, 28</sup> Mozart, who devotes many more pages to the topic, when he discusses the return from higher positions refers to first position as 'the natural finger position'.<sup>29</sup>

Pirlinger's dictum about playing in a higher position for the sake of elegance that 'one for reasons of beauty plays [a passage] on one string' omits Mozart's proviso that the notes should be 'easily' playable on one string, suggesting that as a concession to the fashion for playing *sul una corda* (an entire phrase or passage on one string) he thought this practice was acceptable even when the notes went so high as to no longer, strictly speaking, be easily playable on that string.

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<sup>25</sup> Pirlinger, p. 43 and Mozart, ch. 8, sec. 1, § 5 and § 9.

<sup>26</sup> 'Und endlich bedient man sich der Applicatur zur Zierlichkeit, wenn nahe zusammen stehende Noten vorkommen, die cantabel sind, und leicht auf einer Seyte können abgespielt werden. Man erhält hierdurch nicht nur die Gleichheit des Tones; sondern auch einen mehr zusammen hangenden und singbaren Vortrag.' Leopold Mozart (1787) p. 149.

<sup>27</sup> Pirlinger, ch. 8, pp. 43-48. Mozart uses the spelling 'Applicatur' which he also discusses in his chapter 8. I translate this term as 'higher positions'.

<sup>28</sup> Schweigl (1794) too follows Mozart's lead, denoting any hand position higher than first as 'Applicatur', p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> 'die natürliche Fingerlage', *ibid*, ch. 8, 2nd sect., § 14 et passim.

Additionally, Pirlinger neglects Mozart's reasons for playing on one string, namely 'similarity of tone' and 'singing' quality. More likely than not, this is just one of Pirlinger's many abridgements, presumably made to produce his much more concise edition, but it is nevertheless interesting that these two seemingly 'modern' qualities which interested Leopold Mozart, even if he meant them somewhat differently from how they would now be understood, do not make their way into the rationale for selecting a fingering as presented in this Viennese version of the *Versuch*.

It is also worth noting that Fuchs's use of higher positions in ex. 2.1 in 1791, eight or nine years before the publication of Pirlinger, cannot be justified by any of Pirlinger's/Mozart's criteria. His fingering across two strings actually reduces any sense of cantabile that might be possible. In this case practice was clearly ahead of theory. In order to really account for the full range of practices in Vienna at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, further categories would have to be added to Pirlinger's three-part classification system, or else the class of 'elegance' would have to be expanded to encompass other artistic uses of higher positions in addition to the playing of a passage on a single string.

The considerable frequency of indications for playing a melody on a single string, requiring players to use higher positions, justified by Pirlinger and Leopold Mozart for the sake of elegance or enhancing the cantabile nature of the line, suggests that this practice was in vogue from the late eighteenth century onwards in Vienna and elsewhere. By 1780 it is a common feature in extended pieces of music for strings to have at least one section of the work designated *sul una corda*. Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven all used markings of this sort in their string writing. To judge from the music of the most prominent Viennese

players of the period, Schuppanzigh, Clement, the Wranitzkys, Mayseder, Jansa, Böhm, Linke, Merk, and both Krafts, this procedure was even more popular amongst players. According to Franz Wegeler one of the Krafts even convinced Beethoven to add the marking '*sul corda G*' to a passage in the Finale to the op. I, no. 3 piano trio.<sup>30</sup> Hardly any of the bravura sets of variations for violin or cello written in Vienna during this period fails to include a variation on one string. Markings for this effect outnumber other indications for string fingering in contemporaneous printed music suggesting that it was one of the most popular tricks for augmenting the expression of the music.

Ex. 2.3 from the Fantasy no. 37, Andante, for solo violin, Ferdinand Kauer (c. 1800)<sup>31</sup>



Kauer's use of the '*Sopra una Corda.*' marking is typical of what is found in printed music. A similarity of colour is achieved for the whole line by keeping the passage on the G string. In the first full bar of the example, where the major sixth from a to f-sharp' is not playable in one position, the player must shift, which could result in an audible slide. It is up to the player as to whether to manage the bow in such a way as to highlight or mask the slide. The shift need not be an audible feature of this application of playing on one string.

Though Anton Kraft is sparing in designating passages in his own music

<sup>30</sup> Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz: K. Bädker, 1838) p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Ferdinand Kauer, *Scuola pratica ovvero 40 Fantasien un 40 Fermaden sammt einem Arpeggio für eine Violine* (Vienna: Eder, [c. 1800]).



to be played on one string, it seems likely that he was fond of this technique. Many passages in his music suggest use of *una corda* playing. Often he uses clef changes, from bass to treble (played down one octave)<sup>32</sup> or from bass to tenor, to delineate melodies, often adding the marking '*dolce*', which seem particularly suited to this treatment. The Haydn D major cello concerto, written for him, contains some of the most truly elegant use of this device.

Ex. 2.4 cello concerto (Hob. VIIb:2), Allegro moderato, bars 50-51, Haydn (1783)<sup>33</sup>



Playing a passage on one string could also express qualities other than elegance, such as sentimentality or pomposity. When a melody full of leaps, requiring frequent or large shifts is played on one string, the hopping from one position to another can actually accentuate the discontinuity of the line, either with slides which overemphasize the distance of intervals, making them sound ungainly, or with non-legato bow management, used to minimize the impact of the shifting on the ears. At a certain point shifts become too long, or tempi too rapid, to perform all the position changes without audible slides or breaks in the sound. Rather than supporting a singing elegance, in these cases, playing on one string becomes a matter of untidy lurching to intervals which are reached more

<sup>32</sup> Ian Parrott, 'Beethoven, the Cello and the Treble Clef', *The Music Review*, 46 (1985), 12-18.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Haydn, *Werke: Konzerte für Violoncello und Orchester*, ed. by Sonja Gerlach (Munich: Henle, 1981).

or less accurately.

Ex. 2.5 XII Variations for violin solo, var. 5, Anton Wranitzky (c. 1800)<sup>34</sup>



Wranitzky, who taught both Schuppanzigh and Mayseder, begins his variations on 'Ich bin liederlich du bist liederlich' with an unadorned statement of the extremely simple theme followed by instructions that the theme is then to be played twelve times by another violinist while the soloist continues with the variations. From the way the other variations are set up it is clear that the '*Sopra una corda.*' is meant to apply to the entire variation. The first strain of variation five is straightforward, if somewhat cumbersome, with regard to the *una corda* playing. In the second strain, however, staying on the G string becomes a veritable battle for survival, especially for a player without a chinrest. Particularly problematic is getting from the middle of the second bar of the strain to the downbeat of the following bar. The leap of a seventh can be reached by stretching the hand, but the descending diminished twelfth immediately followed by an ascending minor ninth are awkward enough to preclude any sort

<sup>34</sup> Anton Wranitzky, *XII Variazioni per il violino solo sopra la canzonetta 'Ich bin liederlich du bist liederlich'* (?Vienna, [c. 1800], pl. no. 77), copy in the Library of Congress (M42.V case). This set of variations was widely distributed. *RISM*, which neglects the present edition, lists a further four: Speyer: Bossler, no. 234; Vienna: Artaria & Co., no. 796; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, no. 2567; and another issue by Breitkopf, no. 3706.

of elegant execution. Some degree of sliding is inevitable, turning a variation, which could otherwise be a virtuosic display of high-position playing, into a comical farce, with no pretense of the 'elegance' which Pirlinger and Mozart thought should be associated with high-position playing. This passage might give some indication of how Schuppanzigh would have used *una corda*, for although he never actually indicates slides or staying on one string, often he was criticized for sliding.

It is just such displays and what might be seen as an abuse of *una corda* playing which were likely the root of Antonio Salieri's complaints about violinists and other string players sliding on their instruments:

For some time there has been creeping in among various weak violin soloists a feminine and ridiculous style of handling their instrument, which the Italians call the *maniera smorfiosa* [mincing, affected manner], and consists of a misuse of the travel up and down the strings by the fingers.

This soft and childish manner has spread like an infectious disease among several orchestra players and, even more ridiculous, not only to the rest of the good violinists, but to violists and even contrabassists as well. When it takes place in the full orchestra, such a practice—because an indulged evil is always aggravated—transforms it from a harmonious body to a gathering of whimpering children or meowing cats.

This method of playing runs contrary to the consideration which every player must apply to strange [i.e., new] compositions, and contrary to the respect which is due the public, which, for its money wants to have music performed seriously and not in a joking manner. Therefore: every director of the Imperial Theater Orchestra in Vienna is hereby notified that he does not have to endure such a tasteless innovation on the part of individuals under his direction.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> 'Seit einiger Zeit hat sich bey unterschiedlichen schwachen Solo-Violinisten eine weibische und lächerliche Art, ihr Instrument zu behandeln, eingeschlichen, welche die Italiener *maniera smorfiosa* nennen, und die in einem Missbrauche des Auf- und Niederfahrens mit den Fingern auf den Saiten besteht.

'Diese weichliche und kindische Manier hat sich, wie eine ansteckende Krankheit, auch auf einige Orchester-Spieler fortgepflanzt, und was das Lächerlichste ist, nicht bloß auf übrigens brave Violinisten, sondern auch auf Bratschisten, und sogar Contrebassisten. Eine solche Manier, besonders im vollständigen Orchester, muß dieses nothwendig — weil ein geduldetes Uebel sich immer mehr verschlimmert — aus einem harmonischen Körper in ein Beysammenseyn wimmernder Kinder oder miaulender Katzen umwandeln.

'Da nun diese Methode ganz gegen die Rücksicht ist, welche jeder Spieler auf fremde Compositionen nehmen muß, so wie gegen die Achtung, die man dem Publicum schuldig ist, welches für sein Geld die Musik mit Ernst und nicht spasshaft ausgeführt haben will: so wird hiermit jedem

Salieri does not go as far as to name individuals but among possible solo violinists in the court theatre orchestras at this time were Anton Wranitzky, who was appointed director of the Hoftheater orchestra in 1807, and his pupil Joseph Mayseder, who became leader of the Hoftheater orchestra in 1810. Further on Salieri attributes this scourge and offense to his good taste to players imitating a habit of sliding that Lolli affected in his later years, according to Salieri, to conceal his loss of technical security.<sup>36</sup> It is clear that Salieri's threatening letter did little to dissuade players from sliding, for he issued a public manifesto to the same effect four years later.<sup>37</sup>

With Pirlinger and Mozart's association of '*cantabile*' with the elegant use of higher positions and Salieri's chastising players for sliding up and down their fingerboards in what he calls the '*maniera smorfiosa*', it is worth pondering how often these terms, and others such as '*dolce*' or '*sotto voce*', suggested specific technical devices. Probably for individual players at least some of these terms had personal meaning as designations for specific techniques. Though a thorough investigation into this matter would require its own separate study, it is interesting to see that Anton Kraft used all these terms with some regularity, often with two or more of them used for different passages in the same movement. It then looks likely that he had a different specific effect in mind for each term. In the first movement Allegro spiritoso of his sonata in D for cello

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Director der kaiserl. Theater-Orchester in Wien zu wissen gethan, dass er eine solche abgeschmackte Neuerung bey den Individuen seiner Direction nicht zu dulden habe.' from an letter written by Salieri and published in the *AmZ* (March, 1811) cols. 207-08. The translation is from Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Salieri: Rival of Mozart*, ed. by Theodore Albrecht (Kansas City, Missouri: Philharmonia of Greater Kansas City, 1989) pp. 163-64.

<sup>36</sup> *AmZ* (March 1811) col. 209.

<sup>37</sup> Clive Brown, 'The Orchestra in Beethoven's Vienna', *Early Music*, 16 (Feb 1988), p. 18.

and bass [e.g. an accompanying cello], op. 1, no. 3 he designates four passages 'sotto voce', two 'smorfioso', four 'dolce', and one 'scherzando'. Clearly he is seeking to squeeze as much expression out of his material as possible. If Salieri's description of the *maniera smorfiosa* accurately reflects the way this term was understood, then the 'smorfioso' in this passage has specific implications for its execution:

Ex. 2.6 from the Allegro spiritoso of the sonata in D, op. 1, no. 3, Anton Kraft (1790)<sup>38</sup>



While indications of *una corda* playing can suggest sliding in general, or the 'smorfioso' above might even demand it, these indications are vague as to exactly when a note should slide to another and how this should occur. Detailed instructions about the pacing and shaping of slides do not exist before the late nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Except for interesting sets of fingerings by Haydn and Beethoven, which are discussed in their own chapters, clear indications of slides in Viennese music are surprisingly rare. Perhaps it was something everyone was doing, but to which no one was willing to admit. Joseph Böhm, who did not come to Vienna until 1816 and was more influenced by the French school than most Viennese players of the period, might be the only Viennese player from

<sup>38</sup> Antoine [Anton] Krafft [Kraft], *Trois sonates pour le violoncelle*, op. 1 (Berlin: Hummel, [1790]), p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> See for example H. S. Drewry, *The Slide on the Violoncello* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1889). However, Haydn showed an interest in determining the pacing of slides in the trio of his quartet, op. 64/6. See ex. 3.10 in the next chapter.

this era to have left clear fingering indications for shifts. His indications show a tempering of the use of sliding.

Ex. 2.7 two bars from the Concerto I, Allegro (1st movt), Joseph Böhm (1825)<sup>40</sup>



Böhm's first concerto, which was dedicated to Kreutzer, contains numerous fingerings, though none in the most difficult passages. Nearly all the fingerings are concerned with playing parallel and analogous material consistently. In this case, where in the first bar of the example some sort of position change is necessary, he has given a fingering to ensure the bars are played the same way. Throughout the movement in similar semiquaver passage work he uses a 4 - 4 fingering for the ascending fourths which are local high points. Though a slide, this fingering can be practised so as to be only faintly audible. He gives this fingering also when the ascending fourth occurs on different parts of a beat. These fingerings seem designed to restrict where slides might occur, rather than to encourage their use.

Sliding could be a very elegant effect used to intensify the musical expression. Another example from Böhm, written twenty years after the death of Beethoven, shows him using slides to great effect in the closing moment of a tender tribute written to the memory of Beethoven.

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<sup>40</sup> Joseph Böhm, *Premier Concerto pour le violon...dédié à Monsieur R. Kreutzer* (Paris: Schlesinger, c. 1825).

Ex. 2.8 closing bars from *Adagio für Violine*, Böhm (1847)<sup>41</sup>



The '4' in the first bar of this example, which would be completely unnecessary if the intention was to stay in first position and use the fourth finger on the E string, indicates going up into a higher position. Ninth position on the D string would make the most sense with the slur, but fifth position on the A string seems more likely the intention. Tonally this would be more satisfactory and in the context of the other fingerings more logical. In either case a large slide up is followed by a smaller slide down and then the 3 - 3 causes a delicate sigh before the final ascent into heaven, probably played as harmonics from the *ottava* sign onwards.

The practice of substituting fingered notes for open strings, existed and must have been practised consistently by some of the better players, but the avoidance of open strings would not have been a feature common to all Viennese playing. Guidance as to the tasteful use of open strings versus covered notes is surprisingly sparse.<sup>42</sup> Assuming first position is employed as much as

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Böhm, *Adagio für Violine* [without accompaniment], in *Beethoven-Album: Ein Gedenkbuch dankbarer Liebe und Verehrung für den grossen Todten...* (Stuttgart: Hallberberger'sche Verlagshandlung, etc. 1847). This book is full of musical and literary tributes to Beethoven. Among the other prominent string players who composed musical contributions are violinist Friedrich Barnbeck (born c. 1800), a student of Spohr who wrote a *Theoretisch praktische Anleitung zum Violinspiel* (Stuttgart: 1834); the Polish virtuoso violinist Karol (Carl) Lipinski (1790-1861); and the cellist and pedagogue Friedrich August Kummer (1797-1879) who published a *Violoncell-Schule*, op. 60 (Leipzig: 1839). Each of these miniatures is packed with expressive markings, seemingly in an effort to capture an actual performance on paper.

<sup>42</sup> Leopold Mozart advised against the use of open strings, especially in double stopping where the brighter colour of the open string would stand out from more muted sound of the stopped note (Mozart, ch. 8, sec. 3, § 12). On the other hand, Schweigl, Kauer, and Kürzinger make no admonishment against open strings, and though Mozart voices a general dislike for their sound he only mentions this in conjunction with playing double stops.

practicable, except when a special effect is sought, one of the most frequent fingering decisions facing a violinist is when to employ open strings and when to substitute with the same note played by the fourth finger on the next lower string. The decision is almost always left to the player. Common sense dictates the use of whichever rendered the smoother execution and the less cumbersome bow management. Ordinarily it is impractical to cross strings unnecessarily for just one tone. The few fingerings to address the issue are in very easy music for beginners which is written to serve pedagogical aims. In the rare instances where such a fingering is given, it always follows common sense.

Ex. 2.9 Duetto VI, Andante (movt 2, 1st half), Joseph Pirlinger<sup>43</sup>



Presumably the unmarked e's, except the upbeat to bar eleven which is analogous to bar nine, are to be played on the open E string. Though these fingerings deal with seemingly mundane issues, the selections of when to use the fourth finger show clear musical intentions. In each case the choice made is the one which holds the musical units together better, giving a nice flow to the music, especially in places such as the middle of bar 6 where the contrast of the stopped note, immediately after its open-string counterpart, underlines the metre.

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<sup>43</sup> Joseph Pirlinger, *Dodeci facile Duettini per Scolare delle Principie del Violino Composte Secondo il Stilo Presente* (Rotterdam: L. Plattner, [n.d.]).



For a special effect the contrast in colour between open strings and stopped notes was cultivated in *bariolage*-like figures, passage work where the juxtaposition of the two colours could be used to simulate different polyphonic lines within one part, create a busy texture, or with slurs to give a legato undulation. This is simultaneously a fingering and bowing practice, often indicated as a fingering but requiring complicated bow management.

Ex. 2.10 passage from Allegro (1st mov.) to the Concerto in D major, Franz Clement (c. 1806)<sup>44</sup>



more typical. The notes stemmed upward are on the open E string, so that each four-note figure is played, like the following broken chords, utilizing three different strings, each with its distinct timbre. While this creates a simulation of three separate voices, when played quickly the effect is more one of virtuosic display than of polyphony.

Ex. 2.12 from var. 9 of 9 Variations on a theme from 'Aline', Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1798)<sup>46</sup>



Schuppanzigh's fingering,<sup>47</sup> in the midst of a variation which is otherwise based on multiple stops which he instructs the player to arpeggiate, is an integral part of passage work which is violinistically conceived and would be devoid of interest without the string crossings and reiterated open strings. It is similar to Fuchs's fingering in ex. 2.1, but is more complex due to the variety of different intervals in the first two notes of each figure. It is not altogether graceful in effect and lends the passage a certain roughness. What is known of Schuppanzigh's playing is closely entwined with his personality and physiology. A big man with large hands and thick fingers, his playing was sometimes cited

<sup>46</sup> Ignaz Schuppanzigh, *9 variations pour deux violons sur une pièce tirée du ballet 'Aline'* (Vienna: Artaria, 1798).

<sup>47</sup> The upper fingering is present in the Artaria edition, the additional lower figures, which are implied by the edition's fingering, exist in two contemporaneous manuscript copies of the piece now in the library of the Benediktinerstift in Seitenstetten (Austria): V570c and V1576—*RISM* gives the out-of-date shelf-marks: V550c and V1561. The copies are in different hands and both contain all the fingerings in the edition as well as the additional figures. A third manuscript copy of this piece made by the Viennese violinist Joseph von Blumenthal in 1799, in the collection of the Bern Conservatory Library (Ms. 10289) contains only the figures included in the Artaria edition's fingering.

for sloppy intonation and excessive use of slides. Descriptions of Schuppanzigh's jovial personality suggest that, while his playing might have been full of character, he probably did not have a very disciplined approach to the violin.

Though the execution of trills could be easily clarified through the use of fingering indications, composers rarely chose to do so.<sup>48</sup> Apart from rare instances in Beethoven which are discussed in Chapter 4, one of the very few cases where a composer uses a fingering to give any information on trill execution is in the second violin part in the second half of the Andante to Pirlinger's duo VI for two violins.

Ex. 2.13 Duetto VI, Andante (2nd mov., 2nd half, violn 2), Joseph Pirlinger<sup>49</sup>



This fingering gives no information about the exact succession of notes in the trill, but it shows the normally law-abiding Pirlinger apparently violating the basic principle that a violinist should not shift into a higher position than necessary; the longer shift causes greater disturbance to the musical line. On the other hand, developing the necessary strength and finger independence for clean fourth-finger trills requires extensive training. Nevertheless, he advised in his edition of Leopold Mozart:

<sup>48</sup> For example, in the piano part to Beethoven's pedagogical piano trio in B-flat, WoO 39 at bar eight, the composer gives a fingering which makes clear that the trill (indicated with 'tr') is to begin with the upper neighbour note. This particular trill is discussed in Robert Winter, 'Second Thoughts on Performance of Beethoven's Trills', *The Musical Quarterly*, 6 (1977) pp. 488-89.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Pirlinger, *Dodeci facile Duettini*.

One must train all the fingers to trill. One attains this skill most quickly by practicing trills on all notes, and **especially by not letting the fourth finger rest**. This [finger], as the weakest and shortest, must thus be made more usable through exercise.<sup>50</sup> [emphasis added]

Leopold Mozart himself is adamant about training all, and especially the fourth, fingers to be able to trill equally well.<sup>51</sup> Schweigl too, though he in one exercise studiously avoids fourth-finger trills,<sup>52</sup> provides study material for trilling on all fingers.<sup>53</sup> For cellists, who only have the range of a third in one position, fourth-finger trills are unavoidable, when trills are to include termination or resolution without the interruption of a change of position. If Pirlinger was willing to make this compromise with theory in a piece whose title makes clear that it was intended to aid the student in learning the correct way to play in the current fashion, it is reasonable to assume that many players, lazy about practising, avoided fourth-finger trills on the violin.

Finding and utilizing fingerings which go beyond security, not for special effects but to underpin phrasing, is one of the ways string playing becomes an art. That some composers and players took on this responsibility is clear both from instrumental method books and markings in music. As seen in the Pirlinger example earlier and the Schweigl scale fingerings in Chapter 1, at a fundamental level priority was given to fingerings which supported metric and figural groupings, so that any audible side effects of technical activity occurred at points of articulation of one sort or another. By contrast, late nineteenth-century and

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<sup>50</sup> 'Man übe alle Finger zum Trillerschlage. Diese Uebung erlangt man am geschwindesten, wenn man den Triller durch alle Töne übt, und besonders den 4ten Finger nicht ruhen läßt. Dieser, da er der schwächste und kürzeste ist, muß also durch die Uebung brauchbarer gemacht werden.' p. 72.

<sup>51</sup> Mozart (1787), p. 225.

<sup>52</sup> Schweigl (1794), p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Schweigl (1794) p. 42.

twentieth-century fingering favours shifts in metrically weak places to try to hide them.

The simplest occurrence of a phrasing fingering is where a single finger is marked which clarifies the intended articulation or phrasing.

Ex. 2.14 from Allegro, quartet in D, op. 76/5/i, Hob III:79, 1st violin, bar 45, Haydn (1797)<sup>54</sup>



In the above example from a Haydn quartet it can be reasonably assumed that the f''' in the middle of the bar would have to be played with the fourth finger in fifth position. This, together with the staccato dots, means that in order to use the fourth finger on the e-flat''' a small break or caesura must be made, giving a little breath before the line descends. Additionally, arriving in fourth position with the fourth finger on the e-flat''' means the scale can be played without string crossing or position change until the a-flat'' where a technical articulation of one type or the other is necessary, but where it musically mirrors the phrasing at the beginning of the downward scale.

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<sup>54</sup> Joseph Haydn, *Streichquartette: Urtext-Ausgabe nach den Autographen, frühen Abschriften und Erst- bzw. Frühdrucken*, ed. by Reginald Barrett-Ayres and H. C. Robbins Landon (Vienna: Doblinger, 1968/1977-). The autograph does not survive. This edition is based on the first edition of Artaria in 1799.

Ex. 2.15 from *Allegro ma non tanto*, duo, op. 1/1/i (vn & vc) cello, Anton Kraft (c. 1790)<sup>55</sup>



The cello's longer string length, requiring more frequent shifting—even one-octave scales which do not include the notes of the open strings cannot be played without shifting—means that cellists are forced to give more thought to position changes than violinists. Fittingly, many of the extant examples of phrasing fingerings are from cello parts. Anton Kraft's fingering is well conceived in that the shifts occur in parallel places and each position is used to its full extent. While fingered passages are not frequent,<sup>56</sup> where they do occur the fingerings tend to be thoughtful, musical solutions to the technical problems. In situations such as this passage fingered by Kraft it is difficult to say whether he supplied the fingering for fear that without guidance many a player would stumble through the passage haphazardly or whether he considered this fingering an essential part of how to play the piece. In either case, this fingering is one given by the composer himself and its unique effect cannot be exactly duplicated by any other possible fingering.

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<sup>55</sup> Anton Kraft, *Trois grands duos concertans pour violon et violoncelle*, op. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [c. 1790]).

<sup>56</sup> The cello part of this movement of 176 bars, which contains more fingerings than most music of the era, contains only ten bars with any fingering indication. Late nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions, by contrast, are packed with editorial fingerings. As just one example the unproblematic opening *Adagio sostenuto* to Beethoven's F major, op. 1, no. 1 cello sonata in the Henle 'Urtext' edition (Munich: 1971), considered a 'clean' edition by players, has fingerings in twenty-six of its thirty-four bars. The original Artaria edition (Vienna: 1797) contains none whatsoever.

Ex. 2.16 from *Variations brillantes on 'La Marie'*, op. 34, cello, Josef Merk (1837)<sup>57</sup>



Josef Merk's fingering in the cadenza in his variations on a cavatina by Rovelli makes clear that even beyond 1830, players in Vienna chose fingerings which underpinned the phrasing and metric framework over those which were merely secure.<sup>58</sup> The upper fingering is Merk's. Despite being a cadenza without barlines, which suggests some metric freedom, his fingering for the upper octave of the scale only contains shifts which reinforce a duple feeling. The lower fingering based on later principles advocated by Friedrich Grützmacher (1832-1903) and Julius Klengel (1859-1933), and still widely practised today, contains only one shift which coincides with the beginning of a four-note group (at the first '1') and one other which marks the second half of a four-note group (at the '1' in the middle of the last group). Despite the beaming in fours this fingering groups three notes at a time. Merk's fingering acknowledges the disturbance caused by the relatively short shifts by placing them where their articulation fits the music's inherent structure. The fingering based on later principles has longer shifts, fourths instead of thirds, occurring haphazardly. Such a fingering

<sup>57</sup> Josef Merk and Karl Gottlieb Reissinger, *'La Marie' Grandes Variations brillantes sur la Cavatina de Rovelli*, op. 34, A major (London: Wessel & Co., [1837?]). Karl Reissinger (1798-1859), responsible for the piano accompaniment to these variations, studied composition with Salieri in Vienna between 1821 and 1822. Though most often associated with Wagner—he conducted the première of *Rienzi*—his own chamber music is conservative in style.

<sup>58</sup> Fingerings from 1870 by the violinist Jakob Dont (1815-1888) in unpublished violin parts he wrote to go with the Beethoven piano sonatas, op. 26 and op. 27, no. 2 (autograph in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 25.475) make clear that even in the second half of the nineteenth century, some Viennese players were still using fingerings in this sort of way to underpin the metric and figural structure of the music.

is geared towards a long line surging to its goal where Merk's fingering seems more concerned with the specific route taken to reach the goal.

Though the practices of violinists and cellists were generically related, several further cellistic concerns arise. Worthy of mention is the zeal with which cellists of the day, especially Anton Kraft, used thumb position, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4. Specifically cellistic concerns mostly arose from the instrument's size and the subsequently smaller range of notes available in each hand position. Without using open strings cellists have a reach of only a minor or major third within the hand, compared with violinists' fourth which can be stretched to a fifth. Cellists were therefore more likely to employ open strings. They were more limited in their ability to play passage work within a single position and needed to shift more often. All of this would imply that cellists would have played in higher positions somewhat more frequently than violinists. With the cello's size higher positions can also be more comfortable for the cellist, because as the intervals become closer together the hand can be more relaxed. The French school of cello playing at this time showed an aversion to small shifts, i. e. intervals of a second or third, made on one finger.<sup>59</sup> The size of the instrument made these shifts more audible than on the violin where such fingerings were not avoided. On the violin, for example, in scalar passage work it was common to play the top two notes both with the fourth finger with a small shift or stretch between the notes. Viennese cellists generally appear not to have shared this concern of their French colleagues. However, by

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<sup>59</sup> See especially Jean Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle, et sur la conduite de l'archet* (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), but also Jean Baptiste Bréval, *Traité du violoncelle*, op. 42 (Paris: Imbault, [1804]) and Pierre Baillot, Henri Levasseur, Charles Catel, and Charles Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle et basse d'accompagnement* (Paris: l'Imprimerie du Conservatoire, [1805]). The first statement of this rule against same-finger shifts comes from outside the French school in a treatise of the Scottish cellist John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: by the author, [1793]).



1802 when Nikolaus Kraft returned from studying with Jean Louis Duport in Paris, Viennese cellists would have at least been conscious of Parisian aversion to playing two consecutive notes with the same finger. Also on the cello, where the left-hand fingers tend to be applied chromatically as opposed to the violin's diatonic placement, the principle of applying the same or similar fingerings to analogous passages would have required a somewhat looser implementation. Where identical fingering of similar passages would have proven awkward, a different but analogous fingering would have served admirably.

### 3. Haydn's Effective Use of String Fingerings

...many pamphlets in the German language appeared in print to depreciate him in the public esteem, alledging his works were too flighty, trifling, and wild, accusing him at the same time as the inventor of a new musical doctrine, and introducing a species of sounds totally unknown in that country...<sup>1</sup>

Haydn's cultivation of the string quartet was not just an exploration of the formal and part-writing possibilities, but also an outlet for his abiding interest in the expressive potential inherent in instrumental technique. Though not specifically referring to Haydn's string quartets, the above quotation could just as well have been made about his use of string fingering in his quartets. His frequent use of fingering indications in his quartets best exemplifies his continuous investigation into the unique musical nuances these instruments can produce. Haydn provided fingering indications for roughly one hundred passages in his quartets. His fingering indications are rare in the earlier works, but from op. 20 onwards they are well distributed through the rest of his output. Though not ignored, Haydn's fingerings merit further investigation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'An Account of Joseph Haydn, a Celebrated Composer of Music' which appeared in the the October 1784 issue of the *European Magazine, and London Review*, quoted in A. Peter Brown, 'Joseph Haydn and C. P. E. Bach: The Question of Influence' in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference (Washington, D.C., 1975)* ed. by Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, and James Webster (New York: Norton, 1981), p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Haydn's fingerings have been best served by William Drabkin, 'Fingering in Haydn's string quartets', *Early Music*, 16 (Feb 1988), 50-57, an outstanding article, which serves as an excellent introduction both to composers' fingerings and the multifaceted uses of fingerings. The present chapter expands on Drabkin by putting Haydn's body of fingerings into a historical context, by considering some fingered passages not addressed before, and by reassessing some of Drabkin's conclusions. I will call attention to places where Drabkin and I reach different interpretations of the same fingerings. Haydn's fingerings are touched on in László Somfai's commentaries to facsimile

Haydn's fingering indications summon a surprisingly wide range of practices, which over time become more carefully wedded to specific musical circumstances. The earliest and most frequently indicated devices are the alternation of open and stopped strings and playing of a passage on a single string. Both effects, *bariolage* and *una corda*, occur from his earliest to latest quartets. From these Haydn gradually expands to include, first, slides and then techniques, not readily categorized, selected to intensify particular passages. Haydn's methods of indicating fingering include noteheads with stems alternately pointing up and down to show the use of two strings, usually one of which is open; long slurs over passages to show that the entire passage is to stay on one string; verbal indications to show the same, such as *sopra una corda* and *sul G* ; and numerals indicating which finger is to play, used for a variety of different effects.

Haydn is not the only composer of this period to show an interest in the effective use of left-hand technique, but he is unique in his seemingly deliberate attempt to investigate the full range of effects possible within the context of contemporaneous technique. Boccherini, for example, who exhibited an unusually refined awareness of the timbral possibilities of strings, restricted his fingering indications to the reinforcing of open strings with a unison double stop fingered on the adjacent lower string (ex. 3.1), and *bariolage*.<sup>3</sup> Among composers

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editions of the autographs in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, of the quartets, op. 77, nos. 1 and 2: *String Quartet in G*, 1799, *Hoboken III:81* and *String Quartet in F*, 1799, *Hoboken III:82*, both (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1972). Drabkin also calls attention (p. 57) to László Somfai's discussion of fingerings in op. 77/2/i at the International Haydn Conference in Washington (1975) reported in *Haydn Studies*, ed. by Jens Peter Larsen, et al. (New York, 1981).

Modern editors, while making little effort to explicate the fingerings, have acknowledged their possible significance through their inclusion in two editions of all the quartets, Haydn, Franz Joseph, 'Streichquartette: Urtext-Ausgabe nach den Autographen, frühen Abschriften und Erst- bzw. Frühdrucken', ed. Reginald Barrett-Ayres and H.C. Robbins Landon (Vienna: Verlag Doblinger, 1968/1977-) and the quartets as edited in J. Haydn: Werke, ed. by Joseph Haydn-Institut, Cologne, dir. by Georg Feder, 1962- (Munich: Henle, 1958- ).

<sup>3</sup> Additionally, in cello music, Boccherini used different C-clefs to indicate the placement of the thumb in thumb positions.



Ex. 3.2 Quartet, op. 20/6, Hob. III: 36 (1772, published 1774) Trio

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the Trio section of Haydn's Quartet in A major, op. 20/6. Each system consists of three staves: Violin I (top, treble clef), Violoncello (middle, bass clef), and Violin II (bottom, treble clef). The key signature is A major (three sharps) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 1-28) includes the instruction 'sopra una corda' written above the first violin staff. The second system (measures 29-35) includes the instruction '2' written above the first violin staff. The third system (measures 36-42) includes the instruction '36' written above the first violin staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs.

The Trio from Haydn's Quartet in A major, op. 20/6 (ex. 3.2), using the direction '*sopra una corda*',<sup>6</sup> illustrates Haydn's exploitation of this fingering

<sup>6</sup> The *sopra una corda* markings for the Trio derive from Haydn's autograph, now in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (IX/23.768). However, *sopra una corda* markings for the first violin in the first movement of this quartet (for bars 19ff. and 118ff.) which appear in early editions,

technique to set the Trio completely apart from the Menuet. In addition to the darker sound created by the violin, viola, and cello each playing their lowest string—the second violin does not play in the Trio—the range of the parts requires some shifting, in order to stay on one string, which is likely to blur the articulation somewhat, and might also result in a slide here or there. Haydn is taking advantage of the change of colour as the main compositional feature to contrast with the Menuet. Except for the lack of second violin, this Trio would, contrary to Haydn's style, bear no significant contrast to the Menuet without the *una corda* marking.<sup>7</sup> Here the fingering indication is essential to the composition.

Even relatively early in his quartet production, Haydn was ready to extend the limits of violin technique for a particular effect. The example from op. 17, no. 2 (ex. 3.3), also discussed by Drabkin (p. 52), incorporates wide leaps, both ascending and descending, reaching a minor sixth above the octave on the G string. Not only will the timbre of the first violin contrast with the accompaniment, but the large shifts or extensions required (e.g. bar 57) suggest some pushing and pulling in total contrast to the strictness of the accompaniment. It is also worth noting that Haydn's use of a long slur over this passage to indicate *una corda*, seems to have been his standard shorthand for the technique, appearing more often in his autographs than in printed editions,<sup>8</sup>

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are not present in the autograph.

<sup>7</sup> Of the six menuet-trio pairs in op. 20, no. 4 is the only other one not to incorporate a tonal or modal contrast between the two dances. Haydn achieves the necessary contrasts between menuet and trio of the Allegro alla zingarese of no. 4, by drastic contrasts in accentuation, rhythm, and a shift of main voice from first violin in the menuet to cello in the trio.

<sup>8</sup> Op. 77/1/iv, bars 224-30, where all four instruments play the same part in octaves, Haydn indicates that he wants each instrument to play on one string by writing a long slur over the whole passage in the first violin and the cello in the autograph (fol. 16b); the second violin and viola parts are not written out here, second violin having a double slash to indicate that the part is identical to the first, and viola having the instructions 'col *Baßo*'. Printed editions omit the long slurs,

where publishers substituted written instructions, which were presumably thought to be more widely understood.<sup>9</sup>

Ex. 3.3 Quartet, op. 17/2/iii, Hob. III: 26 (1771, published 1772) violin I



While slurs are generally bowing indications, it is clear that Haydn's long slurs are a way of specifying a left-hand practice. A comparison of several sources helps confirm that Haydn was using the long slurs not as bowings but to indicate *una corda*. However, frequently these long slurs are replaced by verbal indications in printed sources, suggesting Haydn's usage was an abbreviation which had to be expanded in the edition to avoid misunderstanding. Many of the

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sometimes substituting the instructions '*sopra una corda*', while sometimes failing to indicate the use of one string.

<sup>9</sup> While the origins of this shorthand are obscure, and it is unclear how wide a circle understood it, comparison of manuscripts, both by copyists and Haydn's own autographs, where the long slurs occur, with first editions, which usually replace the slurs with written instructions, makes clear that these long slurs were meant to set the passage off in this way and were not actually slurs. It is, however, also unclear whether these long slurs implied some measure of legato or not. Cf. Drabkin, p. 52 and Somfai's introductory commentary to Franz Joseph Haydn, String Quartet in F, 1799, Hoboken III:82: Reprint of the Original Manuscript (National Széchényi Library, Budapest) with Commentaries by László Somfai (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1972).

autographs to quartets which include fingering indications do not survive. In some cases, such as op. 20/2 (ex. 3.4), long slurs made their way into early editions which do not appear in the autograph, so the transition from autograph to edition cannot always be explained.

Ex. 3.4 Quartet, op. 20/2/iii, Hob. III: 32 (1772, published 1774), violin I



A clear example of long slurs in an autograph being expanded into the term *sopra una corda* in the edition can be found in the Quartet, op. 20/6 in the first violin part of the first movement. Haydn's autograph contains the slurs shown (ex. 3.5a), which are omitted in the Artaria edition and replaced with *sopra una corda* markings (ex. 3.5b).

Ex. 3.5 Quartet, op. 20/6/i, Hob. III: 36 (1772/1774), violin I (a) autograph, (b) first edition

Surviving authentic manuscript sources for the op. 50 Quartets give clear evidence that Haydn did indeed intend long slurs to be interpreted as *una corda*.



Haydn signed a set of copyist's parts which he sent to William Forster in London for publication,<sup>10</sup> and a manuscript copy of five of the op. 50 quartets, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6, from Haydn's own library is also in the British Library.<sup>11</sup> A passage occurs in bars 3-4 with a two-bar slur over the smaller half-bar slurs *and* the words *sul'una corda* (ex. 3.6). An analogous passage appears in bars 7-8, also marked with words and two-bar slur. When the analogous passage returns after this (bars 15-16, 19-20, 85-86, 89-90, 116-17, and 120-21) it is always without the words, but generally with the two-bar slur, which from its third appearance in the movement onward can be considered adequately defined.<sup>12</sup>

Ex. 3.6 Quartet, op. 50/5, Hob. III: 48, Finale, violin I



Drabkin suggests that Haydn gradually became more precise in his methods of indicating the use of a single string, abandoning the long slurs after op. 64, but the actual sources indicate no particular trend towards increased specificity in later works. It is true that later, Haydn was more likely to specify the exact string (see ex. 3.7), much as Beethoven tended to do. At the same time, in most examples where a single string is indicated without specific directions as to which one, the range of the passage makes clear which string will have to be used. Furthermore, while Haydn did become more exact in some cases, such as the Finale presto from

<sup>10</sup> British Library, Egerton 2379, fols 1-54.

<sup>11</sup> British Library, Add. ms. 32174, fols 102-146.

<sup>12</sup> Both Artaria and Add. ms. 32174 omit the two-bar slurs the third and fourth times this figure appears (bars 15-16 and 19-20), leaving no specific indication at all in these places.

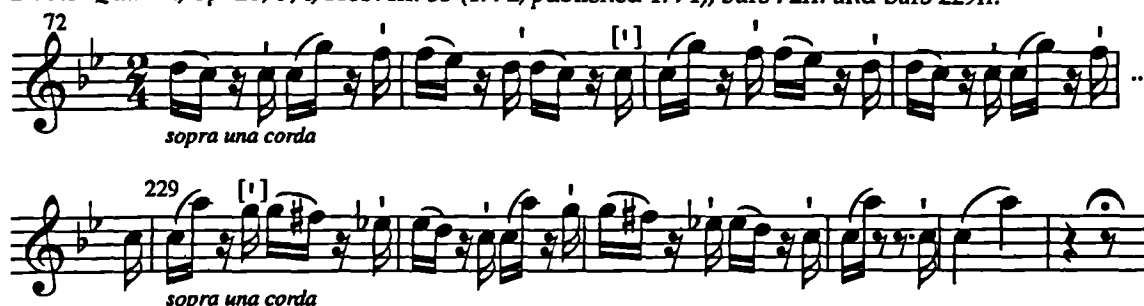
op. 77/1 (ex. 3.7), he still used long slurs for the same purpose later in this movement, as shown in his autograph.

Ex. 3.7 Quartet, op. 77/1/iv, Hob. III: 81 (1799, published 1802), violin II



might have expected slides in the earlier passage as well. Furthermore, these slides on the larger leaps could easily be taken by the player as an incitement to add slides to the slurred, descending seconds in these two passages. Unlike most slides marked with fingering numerals, the ascending leaps here do not require a single finger on the lower and upper note, so that they are probably not as pronounced as slides executed on one finger.

Ex 3.8 Quartet, op. 20/3/i, Hob. III: 33 (1772, published 1774), bars 72ff. and bars 229ff.



Perhaps part of Haydn's whole 'new and special manner' of writing in op. 33 is reflected in his bold slides in the Trio section of the Scherzo to op. 33/2 (ex. 3.9). This is the earliest explicit indication of audible sliding in music which is not primarily comic or programmatic, though players might have incorporated slides frequently in pieces where they were not specified. In any case, such long slides run contrary to later notions of how 'classical' music should sound. These slides present enough of a departure from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century concept of what Haydn should be like, that they are routinely omitted from older editions.<sup>15</sup> In the *piano* context of this Trio, these slides give a sort of swooning effect. All but one of the slides marked with fingering numerals is of the single-finger sort, which makes a very strong effect. Where Haydn indicates '*sull'istessa corda*' together with a diagonal squiggle it becomes blatantly clear that he understood the aural implication of playing such large leaps on one string.

<sup>15</sup> See for example *J. Haydn's Werke*, ed. by E. Mandyczewski (Leipzig, 1907-33) or the edition of Wilhelm Altmann (London: Eulenburg, n.d./R Mineola, NY: Dover, 1985).

Ex. 3.9 Quartet, op. 33/2, Hob. III: 38 (1781, published 1782), Trio

The musical score is presented in four systems, each containing three staves (Violin I, Violin II, and Cello/Bass). The key signature is two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The second system includes the instruction *sull'istessa corda* above the first staff. The score is characterized by frequent use of slides, indicated by numbers above the notes (e.g., 2, 2, 2, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1) and natural slides (e.g., 1-2, 2-1). The piece concludes with a repeat sign.

In his quest to exploit all the different ways of sliding on a violin Haydn employed a variety of different notations for slides. In the Trios I and II of the Menuet to op. 64/6 he chose a fingered slide, one beginning on a lower-numbered finger ascending to a higher-numbered one, and he came up with a clear way to

specify this. The passage which occurs in the first two bars of Trio I (ex. 3.10) comes back in slightly altered forms in the first or second violin in the two Trios seven times. The opening figure and all but one of the recurrences is marked analogously to example 10 in Haydn's own hand in the autograph. The careful notation of the grace notes after the barline, reiterating the pitch of the upbeat, makes certain that each slide in this movement begins with the lower pitch on the downbeat. Such precise notation of the timing of a slide or any other shift is exceptional at this time.<sup>16</sup>

Ex. 3.10 Quartet op. 64/6, Hob. III: 64 (1790, published 1791), opening of Trio I, violin I



Playing a passage on a single string was not the only way to get a special timbre. When a note is played in a higher position on a lower string, it is played on a thicker string whose vibrating string length is effectively shorter due to the higher position. Both these factors increase the stiffness of the string, giving a more covered, less freely vibrating sound which is generally heard as darker. Haydn also called for this darker sound mixed with the bright sound of open strings in a double-stop passage in op. 76/2 (ex. 3.11) where a series of thirds is fingered, unusually, with the higher note of each third on the lower string. Here Haydn takes advantage of the open strings to make the lower note of each fingered third the brighter one. This results in unusually having the lower note of the third on the upper string, while alternately the unfingered thirds call for a

<sup>16</sup> The earliest thorough discussion of exactly when slides begin and end in different contexts is not until the end of the nineteenth century in Drewry's *The Slide on the Violoncello* (London, 1889).

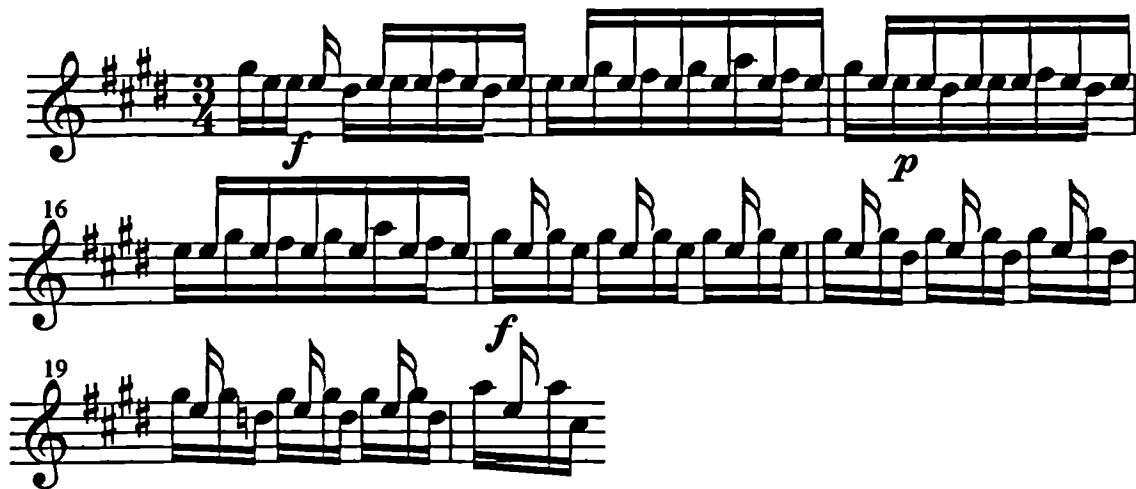
shift back to a lower position to benefit from the use of the possibility of an open string on top (the usual fingering) or staying in third position and playing these thirds with fingers 2 and 4. A very similar passage, which occurs (bars 223-26) is very violinistic, and as Drabkin has pointed out, 'the prescribed open strings contribute to the resonance of the double stops' (p. 54).

Ex. 3.11 Quartet, op. 76/2/iv, Hob. III: 76 (1797, published 1799), violin I



In his frequent use of *bariolage*, Haydn was not just injecting new life into a baroque technique, much as he did with the baroque compositional procedure of the fugue, but he was also partaking of a broader current of popularity for *bariolage*, raising it from a texture to a motivic device. Writing which calls for the alternation of two strings in note repetitions and places where the pitches played on the lower string are actually higher than the higher string not only adds a colourful dimension to a passage, but can also be used to imply two or three voices. Bach's masterful use of *bariolage* (ex. 3.12) between the top two strings, breaking into a *batterie* across the top three strings at bar 17 is the epitome of baroque *bariolage* writing.

Ex. 3.12 Bach, Partita in E for violin solo, BWV 1006, Preludio



Haydn's earliest use of *bariolage*, also his earliest use of any notation to indicate a particular fingering, is in the Quartet, op. 2/2, written between 1760 and 1765 (ex. 3.13). Here the stems, alternately pointing up and down, invoke playing on two strings, presumably the A string where stems point up and D string where they point down. The actual fingers to be used are strongly implied, fourth finger on the lower string and first finger on the upper one. Even employing the two outermost fingers, this stretch already requires an extended position, making first and fourth fingers the only practical fingering in this case.

Ex. 3.13 Quartet, op. 2/2/iv, Hob. III: 8 (composed by 1765), Menuetto, violin II



More commonly, *bariolage* involves alternation of an open string with stopped notes on the adjacent lower string. The simplest example, where one pitch is retained on the stopped string throughout the passage, is essentially an ornamental figuration of a double stop. Haydn uses this extensively in the Poco

adagio, op. 20/3/iii (ex. 3.14). He requires each of the three upper instruments to employ *bariolage*. The timbral contrast in each case between the two strings is essential to the figure, which would be monotonous and without inner life if all the iterations of the note were played on one string.

Ex. 3.14 Quartet, op. 20/3/iii, Hob. III: 33, (a) violin I,<sup>17</sup> (b) violin II, and (c) viola

a. violin I  
40 (Poco adagio)

b. violin II  
88

c. viola  
110

Haydn gradually develops *bariolage*, making something technically more complex of it in op. 64/1/i (ex. 3.15). This passage is more difficult than it might appear. Bars 40 and 42 require fifth position on the D string, while bars 41 and 43 require third position on the A string. In addition to changing between the two left-hand positions, the right hand must adjust from an undulation, going from lower to higher string in bars 40 and 42, to one from higher to lower string in bars 41 and 43.

<sup>17</sup> The 2-0-2-0-4-0 fingering is given in early editions, but in the autograph Haydn supplies no numerals, instead beaming the first and third note of each four-note group up and the second and fourth notes down.



Ex. 3.15 Quartet, op. 64/1/i, Hob. III: 65 (1790, published 1791), violin I



The effect is spectacular, but difficult enough that the edition of Kozeluch provides an alternate version or *ossia* (ex. 3.16). While this version requires more notes on the page, it is significantly easier to play, requiring no position changes and a simpler bow management. While also brilliant in affect, it is altogether more pedestrian than Haydn's original.

Ex. 3.16 Quartet, op. 64/1/i, showing Kozeluch's *ossia*, violin I



It is probably worth noting that Haydn's more elaborate examples of *bariolage*, such as the example from op. 64 above and the one from op. 50 below (ex. 3.18), were written during and after Mestrino's time at Esterháza (1780-85). While Mestrino's use of *bariolage* does not reflect Haydn's refinement, it is very extensive and occurs in many of his published works. One example (ex. 3.17) is enough to give a sense of the familial relationship between the two composers' use of the technique, which serves as evidence both of Haydn's participation in ideas being developed around him and, at the same time, his ability to turn a, perhaps common, technique into a personal feature.

Ex. 3.17 Nicola Mestrino, Concerto IV (Paris: Sieber, c. 1790) for violin & orchestra, orchestral violin I in the third movement, Rondo, from the final 'majore' section



Haydn's most astounding feat of motivic *bariolage*, integrated fully into the composition, is in the Finale of op. 50/6 (ex. 3.18). Though not as difficult to perform as the passage work in op. 64/1, the technical device becomes the impetus for the whole movement, which would be inconceivable without it.<sup>18</sup>

Ex. 3.18 Quartet, op. 50/6/iv, Hob. III: 49 (1787), violin I, exposition, facsimile from the Artaria edition



Because neither hand of a violinist works in isolation, Haydn's various fingering practices can be expected to have implications for the management of the bow. Obviously in *bariolage* the fingering complicates bow management,

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion of this movement see Drabkin, p. 54 and the examination of this movement in Hans Keller, *The Great Haydn Quartets: Their Interpretation* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986), pp. 110-16.

while in *una corda* playing it simplifies it. Beyond this, though, perhaps Haydn's experiments with colour through different sorts of fingering practices, can also be viewed as a challenge to the player to explore different means of bow management to bring out the expression implicit in the music. Maybe Haydn even occasionally used fingering indications which do not overtly suggest a specific effect, but which in subtle ways encourage musically sensitive bowing.

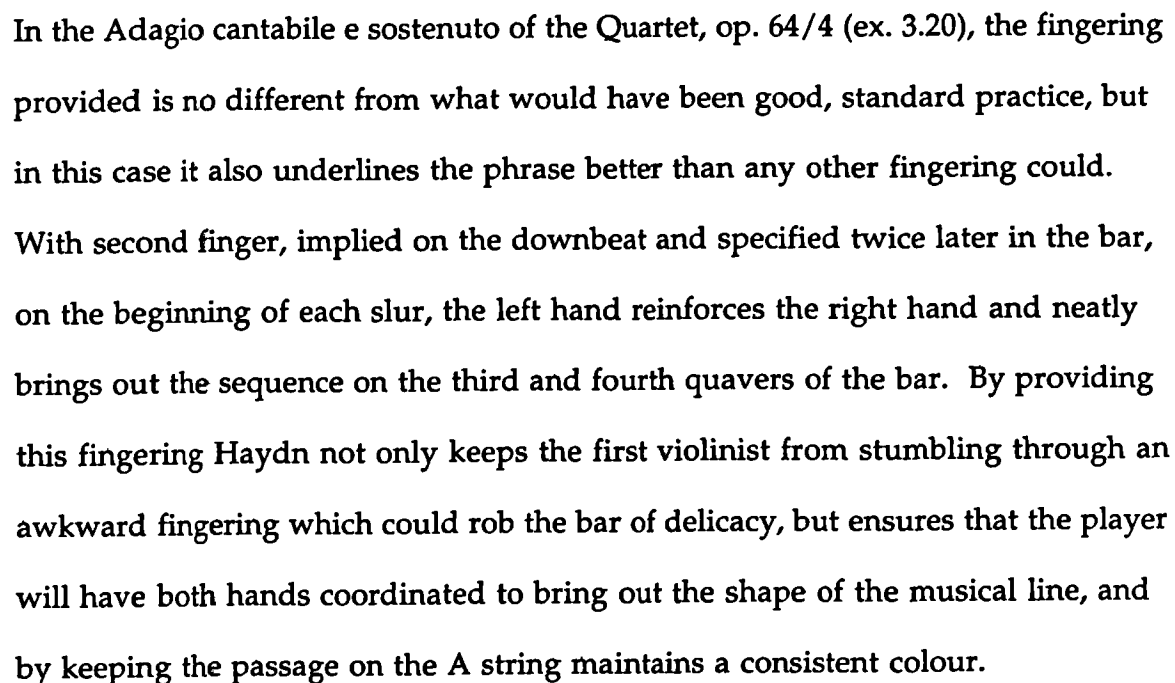
It might seem reasonable to expect, with his broad familiarity of different fingering practices, that some fingerings in Haydn are provided, not for an effect or other distinct musical purpose, but just as a technical aid to facilitate performance.<sup>19</sup> However, the rarity of these fingerings, which are apparently without specific musical necessity, casts suspicion on the notion that Haydn has given them for musically neutral reasons, primarily to aid in execution. The actual passages which would appear to fit this type do not present great enough technical difficulties to justify the introduction of fingerings on these grounds alone, especially in light of the countless passages which do present serious difficulties and have been left with no fingerings. One of the fingerings which might appear only to facilitate execution is the one for a passage in op. 77/1/ii (ex. 3.19).<sup>20</sup> Haydn's fingering contrasts with the standard procedure of the period, that of using the same finger for different chromatic inflections of the same scale degree, i.e. 3 - 3 for the a'' - a-flat'' and 2 - 2 for the g'' - g-flat''. The standard fingering would tend to connect the chromatic inflections to one another, while Haydn's fingering works together

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<sup>19</sup> Drabkin asserts that Haydn occasionally gives fingerings for purely technical reasons, for example, 'to facilitate sight-reading of virtuoso first violin passage-work.' (p. 51).

<sup>20</sup> Drabkin, p. 51, presents this passage as an example of a fingering supplied to facilitate execution, stating correctly that 'the fingering in bar 23 alerts the player to an alternative to the conventional 3-3 on a'' - a-flat''.' He does not go beyond this to discuss why Haydn might have preferred an alternative to the standard fingering.

Ex. 3.19 Quartet, op. 77/1/ii, Hob. III: 82 (1799, published 1802) violin I as given in Haydn's autograph<sup>21</sup>



Measures 35-38 of the piece. Measure 35 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The music begins with a forte (*fz*) dynamic. Measures 36 and 37 feature complex rhythmic patterns with multiple beamed eighth and sixteenth notes, and some measures have a '2' above them indicating a second ending or a specific fingering. Measure 38 ends with a final note and a fermata.

21 The '4' is given as a '2' in some copies of the Artaria edition, while some of them omit this numeral altogether.

fingering Haydn moves the change from A string to E string until just after the  $f''$  (downbeat of bar 48), supporting this note's role as an ending, thereby adding to the richness of the phrasing. Additionally, this fingering ensures there will be no slide from the  $f''$  up to the  $b''$ . The move to the brighter timbre of the E string is thus saved for the second note of the bar.

Ex. 3.21 Quartet, op. 76/3/iv, Hob. III: 77 (1797, published 1799) violin I



That Haydn remained fascinated to the end of his career with the possibilities for intensification of musical effect offered by the exploitation of string left-hand technique is evidenced by a most intriguing pair of fingered passages in his last completed quartet. In the first movement, *Allegro moderato*, of op. 77/2 (ex. 3.22) Haydn supplied fingerings for the first violin and the cello centred around an enharmonic shift, where the half step F-flat to E-flat in all the voices is reinterpreted in the bass as E to D-sharp.

The intent behind the marking for the violin is straightforward. Haydn not only marks the '0', on the note but actually circles it in the autograph, and adds the warning in the empty preceding bar 'daß leere A' (Haydn's own spelling for 'the open A'), suggesting that he is asking for something unusual here. The open A in bar 95 ensures the pitch of this note is absolutely fixed. It will have a ringing quality contrasting with what came before it and is heard under it. It will be free of any vibrato, and it will differ in timbre from the stopped a' to which it is tied. This timbral contrast between the open and stopped a' allows the first violin to simultaneously match the contrasting articulations of the second violin and the viola. Haydn's slur in the first violin from bars 95 to 96 achieves total legato between the two bars, but at the same time he does not actually tie one a' to the next, because the immediate change in colour from open string to stopped note articulates the beginning of bar 96. It is certainly possible that Haydn was concerned about security of intonation, so that one of his reasons for the open string would have been to provide a point of orientation to keep the players from going astray in a passage which is not harmonically simple. Even though the enharmonic respelling in the bass had already occurred a bar and a half earlier, the

diminished triad formed in the upper three parts in bar 95 is, after all, the first point at which a listener could realize that a change had taken place. Or is it?

The unusual markings in the cello part offer a possible clue. The change from second to first finger as the E-flat is respelled D-sharp in conjunction with the marking '*l'istesso tuono*' suggests that Haydn was looking for a subtle way to musically call attention to this respelling.<sup>22</sup> It is worth considering which would have come first, the fingering or the '*l'istesso tuono*' marking. If Haydn had written '*l'istesso tuono*' first it is hard to imagine why he would have then given two different fingerings for this same note. On the other hand, if his primary interest was a change of finger, even though this introduces a modicum of instability, or perhaps precisely because it does so, Haydn might have seen a need to temper the fingering, which could confuse the player, with the warning that the note stays the same. Haydn would thus achieve a subtle change at the point of respelling, visible to the audience, maybe audible as an articulation, and signalling to all that this might be the same note, but it had a new meaning.

Though Viennese players of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries showed a general fascination with the effects which could be achieved through special fingering techniques, especially *una corda* and *bariolage*, Haydn's engagement with string fingering practices shows an exceptional degree of integration of the effects into the composition. Among other composers who were not primarily string players, such as Pleyel or Wölfl, string fingering

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<sup>22</sup> Drabkin's assertion (p. 50) that this cello fingering is supplied only to facilitate performance—it 'merely makes a suggestion about how the pair D-sharp - E could be grasped more securely, presumably in preparation for the E minor *forte* in bar 98.'—does not hold up to scrutiny. First, it is not true; changing from first to second fingers requires a small but potentially destabilizing (and otherwise unnecessary) shift which does not improve security for any of what follows and which must by bar 101 at the latest be reversed to bring the G-sharp and A back within the hand's reach. Whether the *forte* E in 98 is played with the second or third finger should make no appreciable difference to its sound. Second, Haydn has repeatedly shown an interest in left-hand technique to increase his control over specific aural effects, but has almost never shown an interest in fingerings which merely make performance more comfortable.

indications are extremely rare. Among string players fingerings are sometimes given to facilitate performance of difficult, especially fast, passages—slow-movement fingerings are nearly nonexistent— and fingerings for special effects were ardently cultivated. However, the exploitation of left-hand effects by players such as Mestrino, the Wranitzkys, and Schuppanzigh is considerably less ambitious as regards their compositional necessity. The popular sets of variations, where each variation showcased a different effect or technique, come across as demonstrations of what is technically feasible. Often in such pieces entire variations (and with them their particular effects) could be omitted without doing serious harm to the composition. With Haydn it is as if he heard the effects players were employing, mainly to impress audiences with their instrumental prowess, but was able to hear beyond the tricks and exploit the effects more imaginatively. In his hands the effects are used not only for variety, but they become essential ingredients in the compositional process. Haydn's fingerings would have increased the appeal of his quartets to string players because of his witty, sometimes unfamiliar, way of incorporating technical devices into the musical fabric. These fingerings could have served as inspiration for further exploration of ways to enhance musical colour and shape through creative use of technique.



#### 4. Beethoven's Engagement with String Fingerings

Do you believe that I am thinking of your wretched fiddle when the spirit speaks to me?

—Beethoven to Schuppanzigh<sup>1</sup>

This oft-repeated utterance, attributed to Beethoven, has come to epitomize the romantic ideal of Beethoven, the composer of absolute music, written in the abstract without regard for the instruments or players for which it ostensibly might have been written. Beethoven's quip is thought to have been made in response to a complaint from Ignaz Schuppanzigh regarding the difficulty of the op. 59, no. 1 quartet in F major.<sup>2</sup> String players reacted notoriously to the op. 59 quartets: according to Carl Czerny, the first time the members of the Schuppanzigh quartet played through op. 59, no. 1 they laughed, convinced that it was some sort of joke on Beethoven's part, and the cellist Bernard Romberg stomped on the cello part to this quartet in protest at having to play it.<sup>3</sup> This cited condemnation of a violin, and by implication its miserable player, has done much to support the image of a larger-than-life Beethoven to

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<sup>1</sup> 'Glaubt er, daß ich an seine elende Geige denke, wenn der Geist zu mir spricht?' reported in Friedrich Kerst, *Beethoven im eigenen Wort* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1904), item 39. Beethoven's German, where he apparently rebukes Schuppanzigh, using the third person as a noble would have spoken to one of inferior rank, implies greater disdain than Beethoven probably felt. The two men's jocular use of this mode of address with one another was a term of endearment, like Beethoven's calling Schuppanzigh Milord Falstaff. (Thayer/Forbes, p. 229.)

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1966) p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Thayer/Forbes, p. 409.

whom any practical interest in instruments and playing techniques would have been anathema. This concept of 'Beethoven' can lead to the false impression that Beethoven was dissatisfied with the seemingly inadequate instruments and players of his own time, heedless of their limitations and overlooking their capabilities. Naturally, *this* Beethoven would have been displeased by the shortcomings of performances of his music that he witnessed—orchestral performance standards in Vienna were in a state of turmoil at this time<sup>4</sup>—but this mythic Beethoven could take comfort in knowing that he was really writing for posterity when eventually instruments and players' techniques might advance to the point where his music could receive worthy performances. This view bestows on Beethoven virtually supernatural powers of foresight, as if he actually could predict what would be possible in the future and was writing with those instruments in mind rather than the ones he knew intimately, which would certainly have been impossible. (He could have just as well assumed that performances of his music would be worse once he was no longer there to say how he wanted it.) Meaningless assumptions about what Beethoven would have wanted have led subsequent musicians to ignore the fingering practices and other technical aspects of Beethoven's contemporaries as irrelevant to any serious study of his music. Even Beethoven's own, often unusual, string fingerings, thought to betray a limited, primitive technique, are generally ignored.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Clive Brown, 'The Orchestra in Beethoven's Vienna', *Early Music*, 16 (Feb 1988), 4-20, *passim*. On the other hand, according to all accounts the quality of professional chamber music performance, especially of the string quartet, was generally very high.

<sup>5</sup> This view is sadly evidenced in the editorial policies of practical editions of Beethoven's string music. The only publisher who currently includes Beethoven's fingerings in string parts is Henle, but even here the fingerings are not always presented in a way which makes it clear to musicians that they stem from Beethoven. The worst case is in the cello sonatas where Beethoven's fingerings to the two passages he fingered are buried in the piano score. In the separate cello part,

As one of the most frequently repeated Beethoven anecdotes, the significance of this episode has been blown out of proportion. It conjures a lively image of the romantic ideal of Beethoven, and yet one that is not supported by the totality of the surviving evidence. The very familiarity of this comment of Beethoven's should raise some questions. Is it really representative of Beethoven's view of Schuppanzigh, the violin or violinists in general? After all, Beethoven had received violin lessons both from Schuppanzigh and Krumpholtz when he had first come to Vienna. For the most part Beethoven recognized Schuppanzigh as a staunch champion of his music and regularly enlisted his services as violinist and director. Beethoven was frequently present at chamber music rehearsals, where he showed a keen interest in the musicians' comments and their playing. Wegeler recounts that at Lichnowsky's Friday morning chamber music gatherings, where Schuppanzigh, Weiss, and one of the Krafts were the hired musicians, 'Beethoven always accepted the comments of these gentlemen with pleasure.'<sup>6</sup> Early on at Lichnowsky's it is easy to imagine the young composer attending the meetings to improve his knowledge of the instruments and their capabilities.

If Beethoven truly did not give the violin a thought when the spirit spoke to him, at least he did so later. The Italian violinist and composer Felix (Felice) Radicati, discussing the op. 59 quartets, recounted that Beethoven:

...submitted them to me in manuscript and, at his request, I fingered them for him. I said to him, that he surely did not consider these works to be music?—to which he replied, 'Oh, they are not for you, but for a later age!'<sup>7</sup>

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completely different editorial fingerings are given, with no indication that Beethoven provided his own fingerings.

<sup>6</sup> 'Die Bemerkungen dieser Herren nahm Beethoven jedesmal mit Vergügen an.' Wegeler, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Thayer/Forbes, p. 409.

If Beethoven had really believed these works were only for a later age, he would have felt no need to ask an uncomprehending violin player of his own age to supply fingerings, which presumably would not be needed by a later age. Beethoven decided to include some fingering indications in the op. 59 quartets, a departure from his practice in op. 18,<sup>8</sup> perhaps in part to ease their acceptance with musicians. When the quartets were published they appeared with fingering indications,<sup>9</sup> most of which in nos. 1 and 2 are traceable to the autograph scores, whereas the autograph of no. 3 contains no fingering figures.<sup>10</sup> Most of the fingerings in the first two quartets are in Beethoven's hand.<sup>11</sup> Radicati's possible involvement will be considered later.

In reality Beethoven, perhaps more than any other composer, was acutely aware of the significance of his choice of fingering in shaping a string player's performance. In an age when few composers supplied detailed performance indications Beethoven left fingerings for approximately 180 passages in his string parts.<sup>12</sup> This is an impressive number as Beethoven's better known keyboard

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<sup>8</sup> He does, however, in op. 18 include markings such as *sul G*.

<sup>9</sup> The fingerings appear in the first edition, *TROIS QUATUORS pour deux Violons, Alto et Violoncelle...*, op. 59 (Vienna: Bureau des arts et d'industrie, 1808). The fingerings are also transmitted in other early editions including Simrock (Bonn, 1808), Bernard Schott (Mainz, [c. 1810]), Imbault (Paris, [c. 1810]), Astor & Co. (London, [c. 1809]), Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis (London, [c. 1810]).

<sup>10</sup> The autographs of op. 59, nos. 1 and 2, both in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, are available in facsimile: *String quartet opus 59 no. 1: first 'Razumovsky' quartet, in F major Beethoven*, introduction by Alan Tyson (London: Scolar Press, 1980) and *String quartet opus 59 no. 2: second 'Razumovsky' quartet, in E minor*, introduction by Alan Tyson (London: Scolar Press, 1980). The autograph of op. 59, no. 3 is in the archive of the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn.

<sup>11</sup> Information provided by Sieghard Brandenburg in a letter dated 27 July 1999. At what stage between the autograph and the first edition the fingerings were introduced into op. 59, no. 3 is not clear.

<sup>12</sup> William S. Newman, 'Beethoven's Fingerings As Interpretive Clues', *The Journal of Musicology*, 1 (1982), 172. Newman appears to have counted only passages with fingering numerals, and not passages marked in ways such as '*sul corda G*'. The count includes recurrences of the same fingering

fingerings accompany only 120 passages in his piano music.<sup>13</sup> Roughly half of these fingerings seem to come from string players who were in contact with Beethoven as the pieces were being written, while the rest include fingerings which were conceived by Beethoven. Regardless of the source of the idea for a given fingering, once Beethoven includes it in his music, he is sanctioning it. Some of the fingerings he provides show little or no resemblance to fingerings found in music by other composers, either at that time or later. Beethoven employs fingerings to clarify articulation and phrasing more often than any other composer. Whether fingerings stem from Beethoven or were suggested by others is less important than that they eventually end up in the music in a form sanctioned by him and adopted into manuscripts and first editions of his music. Fingerings which make their way into performance material, much like dynamic markings, slurs, or other articulation marks, influence the player's realization of the music, often even when the performer chooses to disregard them.

While both Beethoven and Haydn went well beyond using fingerings as technical aids or using fingering effects just for the sake of variety, Beethoven was concerned with a more radical examination of string technique than Haydn. Despite Haydn's larger output of string music, Beethoven supplied string fingering indications in nearly twice as many passages as Haydn. Beethoven frequently went beyond Haydn's usage for special colours and effects, using fingerings to affect performance in subtler and more varied ways. Where Haydn was mostly content to employ fingering techniques to achieve special tonal

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in parallel passages when it is marked more than once.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

effects, Beethoven additionally incorporated fingerings which influenced phrasing, articulation, and rhythmic realization of his string music.

Though better known as a keyboard player and virtuoso, Beethoven took a keen interest in matters of string playing, particularly early in his career. Before coming to Vienna he had already learned the violin and viola in Bonn and had gained professional experience on the latter instrument as a member of the court orchestra there. It is safe to venture that, with his close friendships with the cousins Andreas and particularly Bernard Romberg in Bonn, who were, respectively, outstanding virtuosos on the violin and cello, Beethoven would have already been acquainted with some of the finer points of string technique. He would have witnessed that efficacious use of appropriate technical means could play a significant role in giving expressive form to a performance. Bernard Romberg speaks at length about expression in performance in his *Violoncell-Schule*<sup>14</sup> and was renowned as one of the most expressive and captivating performers active in nineteenth-century Germany.<sup>15</sup>

Beethoven's early concern with cello technique and, particularly, fingering is supported by the evidence of a page of cello fingerings saved by him together with sketches for his early cello compositions.<sup>16</sup> With Jean-Pierre Duport serving as *surintendant de musique*, the court of Friedrich Wilhelm II was a magnet for cellists. This page was prepared for Beethoven by a cellist during his

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<sup>14</sup> pp. 84-108 and 126-131.

<sup>15</sup> Herbert Schäfer, *Bernard Romberg: Sein Leben und Wirken* doctoral thesis, University of Bonn (Lübben (Spreewald): Richter & Munkelt, 1931), pp. 47-63.

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig van Beethoven, *Autograph Miscellany, circa 1786 to 1799*, facsimile of British Library Add. Ms. 29801, ff. 39-162, 2 vols, ed. by Joseph Kerman (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970) fol. 109.

1796 visit to Berlin.<sup>17</sup> The cellist in question was presumably one of the Duport brothers, most likely the younger, Jean-Louis, who performed the op. 5 sonatas with Beethoven and who was engaged as first cellist to the court at this time.<sup>18</sup> This page shows three fingered scales, fingered figuration, and fingered double stops and chords. Despite the rudimentary appearance of what is written, this page encapsulates a remarkably wide range of ideas, suggesting various avenues for idiomatic writing for the cello.<sup>19</sup> Folio 109 of the 'Kafka' miscellany, more than any other surviving Beethoven document, shows clear evidence of his concerns with string technique and the practical aspects of writing for string instruments.

Beethoven's interest in the violin once he was in Vienna can be seen as evidence that he was concerned with being able to write idiomatically for the instrument, so as to take advantage of its full range of expression. He first shows an interest in the expressive potential latent in string technique during his early years in Vienna. Once in Vienna, though concentrating on composition and piano playing, Beethoven was concerned enough with string technique to take violin lessons, first briefly with Schuppanzigh and then with Wenzel Krumpholz. It is not clear why Beethoven switched from one teacher to the

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<sup>17</sup> The paper is of a type not available in Vienna at the time, which Beethoven also used for the Händel variations, WoO 45, which he wrote in Berlin after hearing the chorus 'See the conqu'ring hero' sung by the Singakademie there. (Douglas Johnson, 'Music for Prague and Berlin: Beethoven's Concert Tour of 1796', in Winter and Carr, pp. 24-40).

<sup>18</sup> Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Early Works for Violoncello and Contemporary Violoncello Technique', in *Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977, Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978) p.176. For an updated look at the issue of which brother might have written these fingerings and would have performed the op. 5 sonatas with Beethoven in Berlin as well as a detailed examination of the fol. 109 fingerings see Moran (1994) pp. 34-45.

<sup>19</sup> Moran, pp. 40-45.

other, but it is clear from the dedication of Krumpholz's *Viertelstunde* <sup>20</sup> to his younger colleague Schuppanzigh that the two men were amicable and, together with Beethoven, shared a rustic sense of humour.

In both the *Viertelstunde* and his earlier *Abendunterhaltung* <sup>21</sup> Krumpholz betrays a fascination with technical experimentation which likely would have intrigued the young Beethoven. In the 'Leyer' movement (in this case referring to the *Drehleier* or hurdy-gurdy) of the *Abendunterhaltung* Krumpholz instructs the player to 'place a snuff box on the left side of the violin'<sup>22</sup> in order to create a buzzing sound. A further tonal experiment is his indication in the da capo of the Trio of the fourth movement of the *Viertelstunde* to move 'bit by bit from the fingerboard to the saddle in each section.'<sup>23</sup>

It is in his fingering practices, however, where Krumpholz's experiments bore the most fruit. He was fond of effects such as *batterie* and *sul una corda* which Haydn had used in his quartets. He liked using the fourth finger on consecutive notes, a practice Beethoven also adopted. His use of high *una corda* passages, anticipating later violin playing, seems to have had special significance for Beethoven. I will expand on each of these practices in turn.

While staying within the bounds of typical virtuosic violin music of the day, Krumpholz's use of *batterie* goes beyond Haydn's in both range and

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<sup>20</sup> *Eine Viertelstunde für eine Violin*, dedicated to Ignaz Schuppanzigh (Vienna: Johann Traeg, [n.d.]).

<sup>21</sup> *Abendunterhaltung für eine Violine*, dedicated to Johann Tost (Vienna: Kunst und Industrie Comptoir, [1809]). Both the *Abendunterhaltung* (evening entertainment) and the *Viertelstunde* (quarter hour) are for unaccompanied violin.

<sup>22</sup> 'Man legt eine Dose links auf die Violine' – Die Leyer: Andante-Allegro-Andante.

<sup>23</sup> 'Das Trio nocheinmal jedoch nach und nach von Grief bis zum Sattl in jedem Theil.' – Fourth movement, Menuetto: Moderato.



Ex. 4.1 from Krumpholz, *Abendunterhaltung*, movt 3, Andantino



textural complexity. In ex. 4.1, within the first bar alone, three different textures are heard, though the left hand remains in fourth position throughout the bar. When the passage is actually played, the change in octave between the *a'* in the first quaver and the *a''* in the second quaver, is heard primarily as a colour change, adding to the shimmering quality already inherent in *batterie*. By indicating the open E in most of the figures with a semiquaver against the prevailing demisemiquavers, Krumpholz pays special attention to the resonance of the violin and indicates that he wants a certain amount of blurring of the notes. Technically and in its figural shapes, though not harmonically, this passage is reminiscent of Biber's solo violin music and suggests traces of the older Austrian violin school still alive at the very end of the eighteenth century.

Krumpholz was fascinated with different timbres and tried to exploit the violin's entire tonal range. He was unusually careful in the attention he paid to the use of open versus stopped strings. His unusual *bariolage* in the *Abendunterhaltung* (ex. 4.2) gives the passage a lilt by moving the emphasis of the open string from the third beat in one bar to the second beat in the next. Further concern for timbre can be seen in his avoidance of the open A in the first Trio of the second movement of the same piece (ex. 4.3). This fingering also implies a same-finger shift on the second finger from the *f'* to the *a'*, perhaps suggesting a slide.

Ex. 4.2 Krumpholz, *Abendunterhaltung*, movt 12, Menuetto moderato



Ex. 4.3: Krumpholz, *Abendunterhaltung*, movt 2, Trio section of Menuetto vivace



If Beethoven's lessons with Krumpholz affected his own music, it would make sense to look for clues in his string writing from this period. In the Finale to the string trio in G major, op. 9/1, written 1797-98, Beethoven explores string crossings akin to Krumpholz's to build a musical texture. In the viola part from the middle of bar 237 to the middle of bar 240 (ex. 4.4) Beethoven employs a fingering which turns otherwise bland-looking passage work into a colourful display of string crossing. Each four-quaver group is fingered so that the player must play alternately on two strings in a *bariolage*-like manner. In the second half of 238 this is achieved with the help of the open A string. Without Beethoven's fingering this passage work would be played with each half bar on a single string, either playing each half bar in its own position, shifting for every new figure, or shifting once per bar with two figures per position. Such an execution would be smoother with more timbral cohesion but less sense of virtuoso exuberance.

Ex. 4.4 String trio, op. 9/1/iv, Presto

This musical score is for a string trio (violin, viola, and cello) in the key of D major, 3/4 time, marked Presto. It consists of four systems of staves, each containing measures 233 through 245. The notation includes various dynamics, articulation, and fingering instructions.

**Measure 233:** The violin part begins with a half note D4, followed by eighth notes. The viola and cello parts enter with a half note D3. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *cresc.* (crescendo). Fingering numbers 2 and 4 are shown for the cello.

**Measure 237:** The violin part has a half note D4, followed by eighth notes. The viola and cello parts continue with half notes. Dynamics include *p* and *cresc.*. Fingering numbers 1, 4, and 3 are shown.

**Measure 241:** The violin part has a half note D4, followed by eighth notes. The viola and cello parts continue with half notes. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *cresc.*. Fingering numbers 3 and 4 are shown.

**Measure 245:** The violin part has a half note D4, followed by eighth notes. The viola and cello parts continue with half notes. Dynamics include *ff*. Fingering numbers 4 and 4 are shown.

In bars 244-46 Beethoven gives the same fingering to the violin for passage work which imitates previous material in the viola, but this time he consistently maintains the fourth finger for the start of each four-note group, avoiding the violin's open E string in the first half of 246, in contrast to his use of the viola's open A in the second half of 238. Slightly earlier in the cello, bars 235-236, Beethoven also gives a fingering which causes that passage to be played back and forth across two strings, which could more easily be played on the D string alone. Some of the figures in this excerpt, such as the octaves in the violin (bars 233-34) and the viola (bars 235-36), must be played across strings because of the size of the intervals. When Beethoven's fingerings are observed the entire excerpt will have at least one of the three instruments playing alternate notes across strings at any given time. This lends a vividness and bounce which is well suited to the level of energy required for the recurring crescendos from *piano* to *fortissimo* in the presto tempo.

Krumpholz, like many of his contemporaries both in and outside Vienna,<sup>24</sup> showed a fondness for using the fourth finger twice in succession for the two top notes of high passages (ex. 4.5, bars 6 and 24<sup>25</sup>), here especially in descent. This is also a practice which Beethoven would use, both in ascending and descending lines, in his violin parts on various occasions. The practice was

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<sup>24</sup> e. g. exx. 2.7 and 2.14.

<sup>25</sup> This minuet appears as both the second and fourth movements of Krumpholz's six-movement *Viertelstunde für eine Violin*. As the second movement it is designated *ohne Aplicatur* [Krumpholz's spelling] (without the unnecessary use of higher positions), whereas when the minuet makes its second appearance it is designated *mit Aplicatur* (with the use of higher positions). The

4 - 4 fingering in parentheses in bar 24 appears in the '*ohne Aplicatur*' version. Though this fingering is not explicitly supplied for the version '*mit Aplicatur*', its use makes sense in the new context too and is probably intended to apply to both versions.

a standard part of violin technique, and yet, as one of several available options, Krumpholz, like Beethoven, preferred to specify it on occasion to ensure this particular method of execution.

Ex. 4.5 Krumpholz, *Viertelstunde*, movt 4 *Menuetto mit Aplicatur* [sic]

Menuetto Moderato mit Aplicatur

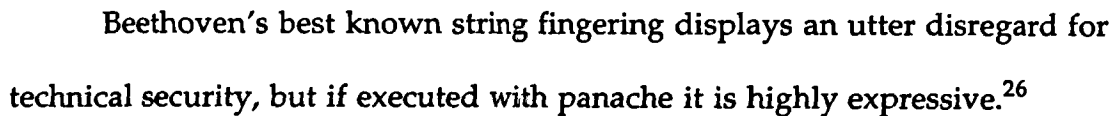
This minuet betrays several features of Krumpholz's violin writing which also show up in Beethoven's writing for the instrument. Aspects of the melodic shape would appear more idiomatic for the keyboard than for the violin. While five consecutive, step-wise notes easily fit one hand position on the piano, four is the limit for the violin before a shift or string crossing is required. Krumpholz frequently fills a fifth, for example in bars 2, 4, 9, and 13. While this is not necessarily difficult to execute and is not rare in writing for the violin, it is not particularly violinistic, and is not what would be expected in a piece for solo violin written by a violinist. More typically violinistic is bar 15 with the filled tetrachord from a to d'. The writing in this minuet seems abstract rather than instrument specific in conception, perhaps foreshadowing Beethoven's quip to

Schuppanzigh. On the other hand, Krumpholz was not ignorant of the effect of his writing. Based on Krumpholz's fingering, the f' in bar 4 played with the fourth finger and his 4 - 4 fingerings in bars 6 and 24, it seems likely that his fingering for the descending pentachords in bars 2 and 4 would be 4 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1.

Certain aspects of Krumpholz's writing seem to be specifically conceived to exploit the violin's different tonal qualities: his use of high tessituras on all four strings and his use of slides. In the passage from bar 21 to 24, though only the D string is specified (*auf d Saiten* in bar 22), it seems likely that from bar 22 onwards, with each octave leap, Krumpholz also moves up to the next higher string, so that after the downbeat in 21 the violinist plays in seventh position on the G and D strings in bars 21 and 22, and after the downbeat of 23 in sixth position on the A and E strings in bars 23 and 24. Between bars 21 and 24 at least one of the octave leaps must be made on one string. Whichever one stays on, one string will need to incorporate a slide. Such a slide, which is idiomatic to string instruments and the voice, adds expressive colour by emphasizing the large size of the interval. Such writing elicits violin playing that is playful and technically risky, suggestive of someone trying to impress an audience with his daring.

Beethoven's use of fourth-finger shifts is no less audacious, though more clearly directed towards a musical purpose. Op. 104, a string quintet version prepared in 1817 of the op.1/3 piano trio in c minor, includes an ascending fourth-finger shift in the penultimate bar of the second movement (ex. 4.6). It seems plausible that this fingering stems from performances, perhaps by Schuppanzigh, of the popular trio version which Beethoven would have heard once the trio was published. This fingering does two things simultaneously: it

Ex. 4.6 op. 104/ii, violin I



(Poco Allegretto)

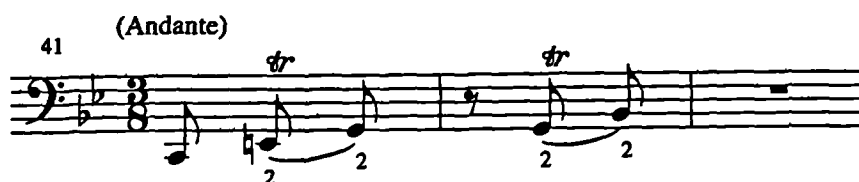
268

26 Oswald Jonas, 'Bemerkungen zu Beethoven's op. 96', *Acta Musicologica*, 37 (1965), 87-90, expresses an entirely different interpretation of this fingering. In his opinion this fingering was intended for the piano passage (272-75) which is identical to this violin passage four bars earlier. In the autograph the violin passage lies directly over the piano passage, so Jonas believes Beethoven accidentally gave the fingering to the wrong instrument. Bearing in mind that the numbers represent different fingers in keyboard fingering, the 4 - 4 - 4 fingering might seem more typical on the piano, but the use of the second finger on the d<sup>'''</sup> would awkwardly require the thumb to play the c-sharp<sup>'''</sup>, whereas second-finger d<sup>'''</sup> and first-finger c-sharp<sup>'''</sup> on the violin are perfectly normal. Sieghard Brandenburg, editor of the violin sonatas in *Beethoven: Werke* (Munich: Henle, 1961-), while citing Jonas, keeps the fingering in the violin part, as do the early editions which would have been used by Beethoven's contemporaries.

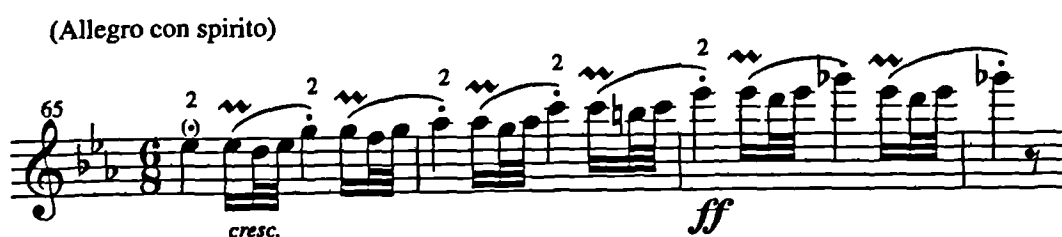
finish the phrase. While same-finger shifts are usually associated with audible slides, the staccato dots over the last four notes of this passage ensure that no slide is intended. Instead the stopping of the bow, coordinated with the shifting of the left hand, emphasizes the separateness of each note at the end of this phrase. Again, the effect is in part psychological, causing the player to think about reaching higher as the music reaches higher. The repeated upward movement of the left hand visually challenges the pianist to follow suit.

More generally, same-finger shifts play a prominent role amongst Beethoven's string fingerings, both in his earlier works and from op. 59 onwards. In two of his string trios (op. 3 and op. 9/3) Beethoven employs same finger shifts on the second finger in passages which are musically similar (exx. 4.8 and 4.9) for the cello in the former and for the violin in the latter.

Ex. 4.8 string trio, op. 3/ii, cello



Ex. 4.9 string trio, op. 9/3/i, violin



In both cases the second finger is used on a note with a trill, and after the termination of the trill the second finger must shift up a third, where the procedure is repeated. In the example for cello from op. 3 the reiteration of the '2' on both notes under each slur makes it very clear that Beethoven is calling for



a same-finger shift here which will cause an audible slide, even though it would be easier to play the second note under the slur with the fourth finger and execute the shift to the new position during the downbeat rest. In addition to causing a slide this fingering suggests that, at least in this case, Beethoven takes for granted that the '*tr*' incorporates a termination.<sup>27</sup> In both bars 41 and 42 the second finger is the only finger which can be used to play a trill where indicated, with its termination, without shifting for the termination. Without this need to play a trill with termination, other fingers would be more natural candidates for this passage with a slide. Beethoven's fingering seems especially cumbersome in bar 42 where the hand shifts into fifth position on the C string solely to allow for a trill with termination and a single-finger slide under the slur, but it does achieve a unique effect.

The intention behind the violin fingering for the passage in op. 9/3 (ex. 4.9) cannot so readily be discerned. If the fingering, as written, is taken at face value, it indicates an ascending shift on the last note of each slurred group, the left hand proceeding gradually up the fingerboard through third, fifth, sixth, eighth, and tenth positions. Presumably each slurred group starts at the same point on the fingerboard where the previous one ends. This fingering is then identical in effect to the cello fingering for the previous example but continues over a drastically increased tessitura. If this logic is followed rigorously and the hand plays the entire passage on the A string, however, this fingering is technically implausible and musically problematic. A crescendo to fortissimo,

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<sup>27</sup> Newman (1982), pp. 192-93, argues that this fingering implies a trill starting on the main note, though I have pointed out (Moran, p. 32) that all the evidence suggests that in this period when a note with a trill is given a fingering, the numeral always indicates the finger which is to play the main note, and not necessarily the first note sounded, so that this fingering gives no real clue as to whether the trill begins from above or on the main note.

with the left hand ascending to tenth position on the A string, is nearly impossible. The tone this high on a gut A string is not strong and with the string pressed down so close to the bridge it becomes a formidable challenge to bow it vigorously without hitting the E or D strings, or both, at the same time. It thus becomes questionable whether the fingering, as marked, fully expresses the composer's intention. The simplest resolution of the conflicting indications of the fingering and the dynamic markings is to move to the E string between slurs, either on the sixth quaver of bar 65 or on the third quaver of bar 66. This offers an execution which observes the indicated fingering, preserving the slides, but where the crescendo can be performed effectively. In both exx. 4.8 and 4.9 it is clear that Beethoven is giving fingerings not to facilitate performance but to call for an unusual execution which is more difficult than the realizations players would otherwise adopt for these passages.

Radicati, the violinist and composer who claimed that Beethoven asked him to finger the op. 59 quartets for him, also made a feature of same-finger shifts. Felix (Felice) Radicati (1775-1820) was a true disciple of the older Italian school of violin playing, a pupil of Pugnani, who could not have had any significant contact with the French school until a decade after his stay in Vienna between 1806 and 1808. As violinist and composer he supplied occasional fingerings in the violin parts of much of his chamber music. The most remarkable trait of his fingering practice was a propensity for same-finger shifts.

Ex. 4.10 Radicati, quartet in f minor, op. 11 (1807), movt 1, Allegro, violin I<sup>28</sup>

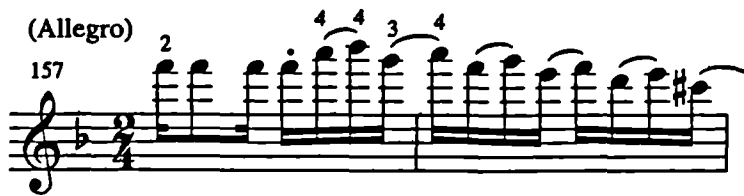


The downward shifting on the fourth finger (ex. 4.10, bars 73-74) recalls Krumpholtz's descending 4 - 4 shifts in the minuet '*mit Aplicatur*' from his *Viertelstunde*. The shift up a third in bar 181 on the second finger (and back down again in the following bar) is clearly the same type of shift that Beethoven employs in exx. 4.8 and 4.9. His practice does not betray any personal quirks—it is a practice akin to that of Beethoven and violinists around him in Vienna—and he showed a greater interest in supplying fingering in his own music than most composers, which both add support to the idea that Beethoven might have asked Radicati to finger the op. 59 quartets.

A look at the fingerings which appear in the first edition of the op. 59 quartets reveals fingerings which could well have been the product of Radicati's hand. Apart from op. 59 Beethoven does not seem to have concerned himself with providing specific fingering figures in his quartets, making the two dozen or so fingered passages in these quartets unique in his output.

<sup>28</sup> Felix Radicati, *Quatuor pour deux Violons, Alto et Violoncelle*, op. 11 (Vienna: Artaria, [1807]).

Ex. 4.11 quartet, op. 59/1/iv, Thème russe, violin I



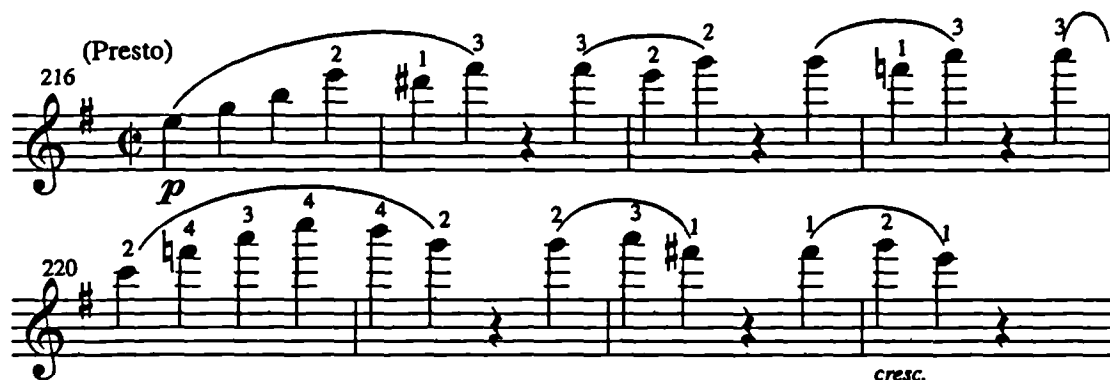
The 4 - 4 fingering in bar 157 needs little comment. As has been seen, such fingerings were part of both Beethoven's and Radicati's style. This fingering stems from the autograph where it is written in Beethoven's hand, so it is possible that it was supplied independent of any input from Radicati.

Ex. 4.12 quartet, op. 59/2/ii, viola



This fingering from the viola part to op. 59/2/ii is somewhat unusual as it is one of the very few fingerings supplied in a slow passage. While the second-finger slide from first to third position would have been typical at the time, its being marked suggests a particular desire on Beethoven's part for a slide at this point in the midst of this movement which is to be 'treated with great feeling'. This fingering, too, can be found in the autograph in Beethoven's hand.

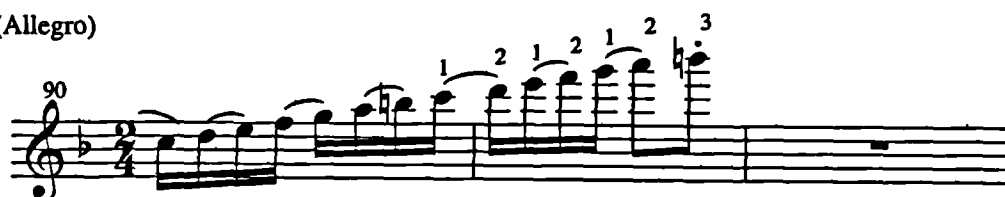
Ex. 4.13 quartet, op. 59/2/iv, violin I



This extensive fingering from the last movement of op. 59/2 (ex. 4.13) shows every sign of having been supplied by Radicati. It appears in the first edition of these quartets, but not in the autograph. Furthermore, it is one of the few Beethoven fingerings which seems primarily concerned with facilitating execution. The 2 - 2 shift in bar 218 and the 4 - 4 shift from bar 220 to bar 221 are both typical of Radicati's style. This is the only non-scalar passage in Beethoven's string music to be so extensively fingered. In this case it is not a slide that is the purpose of the 2 - 2 fingering in bar 218, but simply a secure way to bring the left hand into eighth position for the following bar.

Ex. 4.14 quartet, op. 59/1/iv, violin I

(Allegro)



One of Beethoven's op. 59 fingerings meshes so well with the passage for which it is given that to substitute any other fingering would diminish the passage's effectiveness. The fingering for the scalar passage in the finale of op. 59/1 (ex. 4.14) shows a high degree of integration between the tasks of the two

hands. The beginning of each two-note slur is articulated in the left hand with a position change, while within each slur the fingering is identical to that under the other slurs. Unlike fingerings given for special colours or effects, this fingering has the sole purpose of making the line as clear as possible, so that each note is cleanly in its place and all articulations are well enunciated. The clarity provided by this fingering is in keeping with the simplicity of a scale, but simultaneously points up the scale's across-the-beat articulation.

Two of Beethoven's other scale fingerings, each for chromatic scales played on the cello, appear to follow the same logic, but each has a different intention behind it.

Ex. 4.15 cello sonata, op. 5/1/i (1796)



Ex. 4.16 triple concerto, op. 56/i, cello (1807)



The fingering from the first of the two op. 5 sonatas probably owes something to the playing of Jean Louis Duport for whom Beethoven wrote this sonata while visiting Berlin in 1796.<sup>29</sup> The 1 - 2 - 1 - 2 fingering pattern was a typical way to move up the fingerboard at this time. The small shifts are safer than bigger ones, and ordinarily this pattern can be arranged so that the shifts reinforce strong beats or parts of beats. However, this fingering is different from Duport's

<sup>29</sup> Moran, pp. 46-47.

standard fingering for a chromatic scale as given in his *Essai* (p. 43) which progresses by groups of 1 - 2 - 3, adding a fourth finger where necessary to fill out the appropriate number of notes. Assuming that it is a good idea to land with the second finger on the g' because of the trill in bar 384—this permits execution of trill and termination without shifting—two possibilities exist for bar 383 which adhere to Duport's principles as expressed in his *Essai*: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 1 or 1 - 2 - 3 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 1. Each of these has a different effect from the fingering given, which seems to have been supplied specifically to reinforce the metric groupings, albeit shifting across the beats rather than on the beats, lending a gentle lilt to this execution.

The other chromatic scale in Beethoven's string music supplied with a fingering (ex. 4.16) would seem the ideal candidate for three-finger groupings of notes between shifts, and yet it too is fingered in pairs of notes with a strict alternation of first and second fingers. This fingering, which comes slightly more than a decade after the fingering for the chromatic scale in op. 5, in all likelihood comes from Anton Kraft.<sup>30</sup> Because there are no compelling musical reasons not to finger the notes of this triplet chromatic scale in three-finger groups, it must be concluded that Anton Kraft, who was Vienna's most celebrated cellist until Linke's 1808 arrival there, did not employ three-finger groups in chromatic scales. He probably fingered all scales in higher positions in two-finger groups, alternating the first with the second or third finger, depending on the arrangement of whole and half steps and how far up the fingerboard the scale went.

Beethoven shared with players a fondness for the trend of playing in

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<sup>30</sup> Moran, p. 65.

higher positions, though this is not to say that he wanted or expected the use of higher positions wherever possible. As is clear in some of Haydn's usage and several examples from other composers in Chapter 2, as well as ex. 4.5 from Krumpholtz's *Viertelstunde*, playing in higher positions was in fashion in Vienna during Beethoven's time there. It will be recalled that as early as about 1794, with the composition of op. 1, Beethoven was taking Kraft's advice to mark a passage in the cello to be played on the G string. Beethoven's cello writing takes particularly rich advantage of higher position playing.

Ex. 4.17 trio, op. 3/ii, cello



Ex. 4.18 trio, op. 3/iv, cello



Ex. 4.19 trio op. 9/1/iii, cello



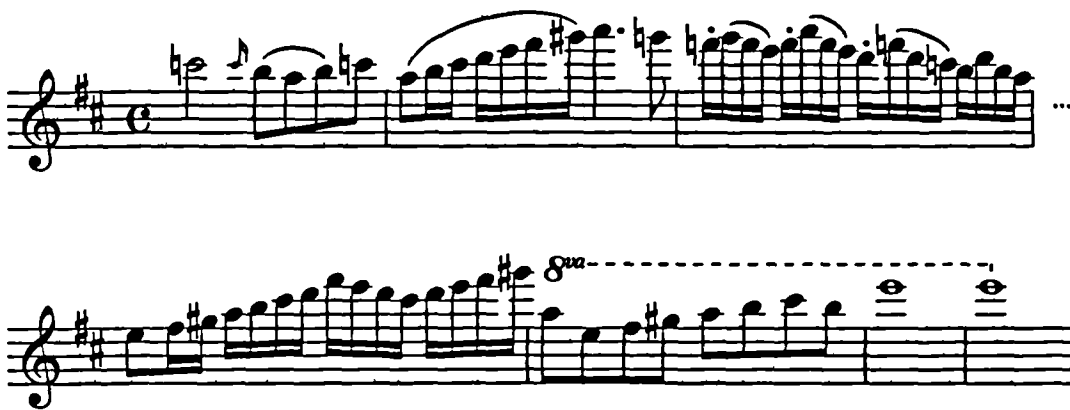
In ex. 4.17 it would appear that the aim of the *sul G* indication in bar 145 is to maintain the singing line by avoiding a string crossing which could interrupt the *cantabile* flow of the passage. Presumably he also would have wanted the



analogous figure in bar 141 on one string, but felt it unnecessary to mark it, since it automatically starts on the G string, whereas a player who was not looking ahead might begin bar 145 on the open D. It is also enlightening to consider that the figures in bars 138-39 and 142-43 might be performed with second-finger slides, the execution Beethoven calls for in the analogous passage at bar 41 (ex. 4.8). Again in ex. 4.18 it would appear that the aim is a *cantabile* line in contrast to the figuration in ex. 4.4 where Beethoven is after a light separation. In the third example above (ex. 4.19), Beethoven's fingering ensures that the cello's closing figure is played entirely on the C string. Here, however, the darker sound of the lower string, which can contribute to the effect of *pianissimo*, seems to be the primary motivation for the fingering.

Beethoven made a special feature of playing in higher positions in the violin concerto, op. 61. Franz Clement, for whom the concerto was written, was frequently praised for his accuracy of intonation in extremely high positions. His own violin concerto,<sup>31</sup> written about the same time as Beethoven's, is replete with high writing for the solo violin (ex. 4.20).

Ex. 4.20 two passages from Clement, concerto in D (c. 1806)



Clement also included passage work to be played on the G string (*sul G*). It will

<sup>31</sup> François [Franz] Clement, *Concert pour le Violon avec accompagnement de grand orchestre* (Vienna: Au Magasin de l'Imprimerie Chimique, [c. 1806]).

be remembered that at the first performance of Beethoven's violin concerto Clement also played some variations on one string, which presumably ascended to dizzying heights.

Beethoven's violin concerto neglects neither high solo writing, nor *una corda* passage work, but it is particularly noteworthy for its cultivation of playing on a single string. Each of the three movements contains material marked for performance on specific strings. In the first movement, after the cadenza, Beethoven requests the soloist to play the final statement of the second part of the main theme group on the D and G strings (ex. 4.21) against a light pizzicato accompaniment, a last gentle reminiscence of the theme.

Ex. 4.21 violin concerto, op. 61/i<sup>32</sup>



Ex. 4.22 violin concerto, op. 61/ii



In the slow middle movement of the concerto, Beethoven couples his instruction, '*sul g e d*' (on the G and D [strings]) with a *cantabile* indication (ex.

<sup>32</sup> Examples 4.21, 4.22, and 4.23 are based on the text of Beethoven's autograph of the violin concerto and therefore contain certain minor discrepancies of articulation and ornamentation when compared with modern scholarly editions.

4.22). Here the effect is not melancholic, as in the first movement (ex. 4.21), but soaring. If the *sul g e d* directive is observed for this entire passage, as I believe Beethoven intends it to be, the writing reaches into tenth position on the D string. This passage would have given Clement an opportunity to showcase his precise, delicate playing. Though both these passages (exx. 4.21 and 4.22) use two strings, they are real examples of high position playing for the sake of elegance rather than necessity.

Beethoven's third instance of using *Applicatur*, as most contemporaries called it, for special effect in this concerto, summons yet another quality, this time earthiness.

Ex. 4.23 violin concerto, op. 61 / iii



The sound of the G string in this folk-like theme suggests a country fiddle (ex. 4.23). The effect is gritty, almost percussive, not the ethereal effects of the *sul g e d* writing in the first two movements. With the variety of characters attainable through the use of high-position playing on the lower strings of the violin, it is no wonder that Beethoven was attracted to this technique.

Despite Beethoven's obvious affinity for the sounds that could be produced in higher positions on lower strings, it seems unlikely that he would have preferred this procedure as often as it could be employed, and, despite the vogue for *una corda* playing, it is unlikely that Viennese players were playing in

higher positions wherever they could manage. When first position (and open strings) are avoided and music is played in higher positions whenever possible, the technique ceases to be special and the sounds that it produces become routine, losing their ability help to etch unique characters from the music. Had high position playing been actually routine and generally expected by Beethoven, he and his contemporaries would not have bothered to specifically ask for it so often.

Nevertheless, it stands to reason that there might be places in Beethoven's string music which could benefit from *una corda* playing, or for which Beethoven might have intended this technique, but are not specifically so indicated. The widespread association of the term *cantabile* with the use of higher positions (discussed in Chapter 2) might be one clue. As seen in ex. 4.22, Beethoven himself combined the concept of *cantabile* with the use of higher positions. A passage in the slow movement of his op. 74 quartet gives one instance of a place where Beethoven did not literally specify the use of higher positions on lower strings, but where he might well have expected it.

Ex. 4.24 quartet, op. 74/ii

(Adagio ma non troppo)

In addition to the use of the term *cantabile* (ex. 4.24), two other aspects of this passage suggest the need for a special colour here. In bar 64 where Beethoven marks *cantabile* for the first violin, the denser accompaniment in the lower three voices is held in check with a *piano* dynamic indication, which would help keep the lower parts from covering the darker sound of the first violin. The first

violin's melody is also written in an *arioso* manner, where the singing line is ornamented with flourishes of small notes, especially leading into downbeats. Of further interest in this excerpt is Beethoven's use of the term *espressivo*, particularly on the chord isolated by rests in the middle of bar 58. At this point Beethoven avoids the dynamic, expressive indications he uses elsewhere in the excerpt, suggesting that the expression required is not to be achieved with the bow alone. The rests on either side of this chord preclude expressive sliding. Could this be a call for vibrato?

Though most fingerings found in Beethoven's string music have recognizable expressive purposes, some are designed more with clarity of execution in mind and are difficult to classify by technique or intended purpose. Among these are fingerings which avoid slides and improve intonation. For the cello Beethoven left a significant number of fingerings for the use of thumb position, many of which testify to a flexibility of thumb usage which has disappeared in subsequent playing styles.

Ex. 4.25 violin fingering from an unidentified sketch (c. 1799)<sup>33</sup>



This fingering from the sketchbook containing sketches for the op. 18 quartets shows that Beethoven was also interested in fingerings which remained in one position, the player negotiating a large range by playing across the strings in a single position, rather than shifting. Because no shifting is involved, this

<sup>33</sup> This fingering was first cited by William Newman in his 1982 article 'Beethoven's Fingerings As Interpretive Clues'. He in turn found it in Wilhelm Virneisel, ed., *Ein Skizzenbuch zu Streichquartetten aus Op. 18: SV 46 / Beethoven* (Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1972), p. 81, staff 9.

fingering offers no possibility for sliding. The effect of this fingering is clean and under control. Beethoven's investigation of this fifth-position fingering in a sketchbook is further evidence that his words to Schuppanzigh about not taking the violin into consideration when the spirit spoke to him cannot be taken too seriously. This thoughtful engagement with playing technique is one of the important elements that make his music so satisfying from a player's point of view.

The fingering from the last movement of the op. 96 violin sonata discussed above (ex. 4.7) is eccentric, having led at least one theorist<sup>34</sup> to dismiss it as a keyboard fingering, but Beethoven's regard for the player and violin technique on a more practical level is also expressed in this sonata.

Ex. 4.26 violin sonata, op. 96/i (1812)<sup>35</sup>



While most of the Beethoven fingerings examined here have dealt with specific executions which could not be expected from the player without prompting, this fingering is a reminder to do the simplest thing, namely to stay in first position and play the open E string. This fingering is a warning not to interpret the slur as a hint for *cantabile*, *una corda* playing. By indicating the open E and by keeping the player in first position here, Beethoven is helping anchor the intonation in this chromatic passage and is keeping the sound quality

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<sup>34</sup> Jonas.

<sup>35</sup> This fingering can be found on p. 12 of the facsimile edition of the autograph, *Sonate für Klavier und Violine, G-dur, Opus 96 : Faksimile nach dem im Eigentum der Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, befindlichen Autograph* (Munich: G. Henle, 1977).

transparent. The indication of the open string here is especially apt in light of the e'' - d'' movement on the second quaver of the bar, where the player will in all likelihood employ a fourth-finger e''.

Beyond the evidence of Beethoven's interest in cello left-hand technique documented by the page in the 'Kafka' miscellany, discussed earlier, Beethoven also showed a concern for the elegant employment of thumb position. The use of the thumb as a moveable nut in cello playing is one of the most versatile innovations ever made in cello technique. At the same time, thumb position is one of the most difficult aspects of cello technique to master. Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) was one of the first cellists to fully exploit the use of the thumb. For various periods between 1757 and 1764 he was a member of the court theatre orchestra. His youthful, critically acclaimed appearances in Vienna would have done much to alert players in the imperial capital to the wonders of this technique. It is then not surprising that Viennese players, and especially Anton Kraft, excelled in the virtuoso employment of the thumb. Kraft's own cello music and the Haydn D major concerto, written for him, attest to his fluent mastery of this technique. As the Krafts were close to Beethoven, it would seem no coincidence that an astonishing number of the string fingerings in Beethoven's music, over ten percent of them, deal with the placement of the thumb in thumb position on the cello.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Nineteen of the approximately 180 fingered passages in Beethoven's string parts include indications of where to place the thumb. Four such passages occur in the op. 3 string trio and the remaining fifteen are in the cello part to the triple concerto, op. 56. The cello part to op. 56 is directly associated with Anton Kraft. The op. 3 trio stems from the time when Beethoven was a regular at the Friday morning chamber music sessions at Prince Lichnovsky's, where one of the Krafts was the hired cellist.



55 (Adagio)

The first system of the musical score for 'The Swan' is written in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. It begins with a measure of whole rest, followed by a series of eighth notes. A fermata is placed over a measure containing a half note. The system concludes with a triplet of eighth notes, indicated by a '3' above the notes.

60

The second system of the musical score continues in the same key and time signature. It starts with a half note, followed by eighth notes. A measure with a half note is marked with a fermata and a '2' above it, indicating a second ending. The system ends with a triplet of eighth notes, marked with a '3' above the notes.

**Ex. 4.28 triple concerto, op. 56/i, cello, 'unprepared' use of thumb**

156 (Allegro)

*dol:*

374 

156

Many of the indications for the thumb in the triple concerto belie an uncanny technical assurance. The thumb is treated like other fingers with regard to its ability to shift (ex. 4.28).<sup>38</sup> This leaping thumb practice is rare in the history of cello playing. Evidence of such practice is confined to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with most evidence coming from the fingerings of Kraft and Josef Linke in their own solo compositions. The thumb is often considered unqualified to leap from one position up to another. Fingerings involving the thumb are usually arranged so that the arrival of the thumb in a higher position is prepared by shifting into the new position on one of the four fingers. Once the position is reached in this way, the thumb can be safely introduced (in the manner of ex. 4.29). Ex. 4.28, however, has the thumb leaping a fourth upwards, overtaking the first and second fingers on the way. To many cellists, this fingering would seem extremely unsafe, because it violates the principles most cellists have been taught regarding how to use the thumb. However, once thoroughly trained, this practice permits highly nuanced phrasing within the line. This fingering, which features a shift on the strong downbeat, neatly underpins the musical line. The weight of the arm and hand is great enough that this weight must be skillfully released if such a shift is to succeed. This lifting on the anacrusis, together with the arrival in a new position on the strong downbeat, lend the execution a delicacy which is appropriate to the indicated *dolce*. Furthermore, the use of the thumb, which is not generally capable of a rounded vibrato on a long expressive note (the *a'* in bar

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<sup>38</sup> This same type of daring, seemingly reckless, thumb usage is also seen in a first-edition part to Beethoven's op. 69 cello sonata, liberally provided with contemporaneous manuscript fingerings. This part, in the possession of Dimitry Markevitch, and other early documentation of thumb position is the subject of his article 'A Lost Art? The Use of the Thumb in 18th- and Early 19th-Century Cello Works', *Strings*, (Jul/Aug 1992), 16-18. Mr Markevitch graciously supplied me with a photocopy of this part and allowed me to examine the original at his home. The fingerings in this part are discussed further in Moran, pp. 74-77.

157), is evidence of playing which employed vibrato sparingly, if at all. Ex. 4.29 which shows the second finger, and by implication the third on the b-flat' (bar 374), is, according to conventional wisdom, a much safer use of the thumb. The fact that both types of thumb implementation were used indicates the variety of different treatments Beethoven could have expected in thumb position usage.

Beethoven's concern for idiomatic instrumental writing led to a lifelong attention to string technique, particularly fingering, which was unusual for a composer who was not also primarily a string player. His fingerings demonstrate an intimate understanding of the instruments. This understanding, coupled with the fact that he was not primarily a string player, meant he was sometimes more open to unconventional practices, if they would produce the effect he wanted. He demonstrated an unusual degree of concern for the quality of performance. Indications such as *sul corda* G allowed Beethoven to expand the range of expression he expected from string players. Indicating specific fingerings gave him a succinct way to exert greater control over aspects of performance, such as phrasing, articulation, rubato, timbre, and slides. When his fingerings are studied and observed in performance they frequently shed light on the composer's intentions.

## 5. Tone Production and the Myth of the Phrasing Slur

On 29 March 1828 Paganini astonished Vienna with the first of a prolonged series of fourteen concerts. These were his first appearances outside his native Italy. All of musical Vienna, including the top violinists, went to hear him. Schuppanzigh heard him at close range, for he conducted the orchestra at several of these concerts. Among the other violinists who listened in awe were Joseph Mayseder, Joseph Böhm, Leopold Jansa, and Josef Slavík.<sup>1</sup> It is generally assumed that Paganini impressed his audiences with bizarre contortions and violinistic pyrotechnics, but at least one member of the Viennese audience heard something more sublime. Franz Schubert was enamoured with Paganini's beautiful adagio playing.<sup>2</sup> He was so enthralled that, despite high ticket prices, he went back to a second performance and took his indigent friend Eduard von Bauernfeld.<sup>3</sup> A Viennese critic recognizing the special quality of Paganini's enchanting tone wrote:

...in his hands the violin sounds more beautiful and more moving than any human voice, that his ardent soul pours a quickening glow into every heart; when we say that every singer can learn from him, this is still inadequate to give an impression of a single feature of his playing.<sup>4</sup>

As Schubert more succinctly explained to a friend, in Paganini's playing of an

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<sup>1</sup> Courcy, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Schwarz, Boris, 'Die Violinbehandlung bei Schubert', p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Deutsch (1958), p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* (5 April 1828), quoted in Courcy, p. 265.

adagio he had heard the singing of an angel.<sup>5</sup>

Though tone quality is one of the most characteristic features of a player's, or even a school's, style, describing it in words presents nearly insurmountable difficulties. String tone begins to seem intangible when one is forced to put into words the quality of sound produced by a given string player, and, yet, listeners readily recognize particular players, and distinguish between different schools of playing, by the quality of sound. Reports describing the tone of different Viennese players are uncommon and are generally more or less cryptic. For example, Seyfried describes Schuppanzigh's playing as 'energetic' and 'fiery',<sup>6</sup> but whether he means to say anything about the tone is unclear. These terms might just be describing the rhythmic vitality of Schuppanzigh's performance. Furthermore, while terms such as 'fiery' or 'angelic' easily conjure images, they provide little objective information about the tone production. Frequent descriptions extolling 'songlike' or singing tone<sup>7</sup> make clear the esteem in which instrumentalists were held who could artfully imitate singers without clarifying how an instrumentalist might produce a singing tone. The above comments on Paganini's tone, when he played in Vienna, are remarkably vivid, but neither do they actually recreate his sound nor do they give any information about how he produced it.

While making a meaningful description in words of a given tone quality can prove futile, describing the specific technical means employed in tone production, and which distinguish one method of tone production from

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<sup>5</sup> Deutsch (1958), quoting Anselm Hüttenbrenner's recollections from 1854, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Seyfried writing in Schilling (1838), V, p. 288, calls Schuppanzigh an 'energischer Orchester-Anführer', characterizing his style 'durch den feurigen, höchst präzisen Vortrag' of new works.

<sup>7</sup> For example, the description of Anton Kraft's playing from Schilling (1837), IV, p. 208, quoted later.

another, can be a productive way to categorize and explain tone quality without directly describing it. Additionally, when a concrete description of the method of tone production survives, it is possible to form an approximate reconstruction of the tone by retracing the steps described.

A succinct theoretical model for tone production is in order. Management of the bow is the component of string playing which most obviously, and very importantly, affects quality of sound. However, tone production is a complicated issue and several other factors also come prominently into play. Left-hand techniques, and the inherent qualities of the instrument and bow themselves, contribute significantly to a player's unique tone. (Vibrato, as an ornament, was not considered a component of a player's tone.) The type of finger placement, amount of weight used, degree of fleshiness of the part of the finger contacting the string, and the amount of energy going into finger placement and release all contribute important, albeit subtle, attributes to the final tone. Furthermore, as already seen, the choice of fingering plays a significant role in determining articulation and timbre. Though it goes beyond the scope of this thesis to make a detailed study of the string instruments in use in Vienna some general comments are still necessary.

Too little is known about the string instruments played by the Viennese to form a sharp picture, but a prevailing conservatism suggests that Vienna was no place to see all the latest innovations in violin and bow making. In the violin trade, the body of the instrument and the scroll are usually considered essential, unique parts of the instrument and are, therefore, the only parts which have

traditionally been systematically conserved or studied.<sup>8</sup> The attributes which define the instrument's setup, its neck, fingerboard, soundpost, bass bar, and strings, all of which can be adjusted to alter qualities of tone, volume, and responsiveness of an instrument, have, until fairly recently, been treated as accessories which are most often discarded without documentation, when they are replaced to keep up with changing fashions. Though much progress has been made in the past half century in reconstructing eighteenth-century 'baroque' setups, players and makers, eager for 'classical' instruments, have tended to assume that these setups should lie somewhere between 'baroque' and 'modern'. For example, a 'baroque' neck is nearly parallel to the table of the violin, while a 'modern' one is noticeably angled back, so common sense has held that a 'classical' one should be gently angled back. By the same line of reasoning the length of a 'classical' bass bar or the height of a 'classical' bridge should be a happy medium between the smaller 'baroque' and the larger 'modern' accoutrements. While this sort of reasoning has led to artistically satisfying solutions, it is guesswork which must eventually be supported by research.<sup>9</sup>

What little is known about string instruments and instrumental setups in use in Vienna in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries points to a much greater interest in variety of tonal colour than in projection in large spaces. Public concerts were slow to take root in Vienna, and most performances occurred in relatively small rooms where sound projection would have been

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<sup>8</sup> Two of the very few studies devoted to Viennese instrument builders sadly show their age by their lack of attention to instrumental setup: Helga Haupt, 'Wiener Instrumentbauer von 1791 bis 1815', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 24 (1960), 120-84 and Richard Schaal, 'Biographische Quellen zu Wiener Musikern und Instrumentenmachern', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 26 (1964), 194-212.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Walls (1992) sets solid foundations for the investigation of 'classical' setups. See especially p. 9.

unproblematic, even for softer instruments. When Beethoven and Schuppanzigh performed one of the op. 12 violin sonatas in a benefit concert in 1798, it was a rarity to play chamber music in a concert, even in a modest-sized hall. To play chamber music in rooms larger than salons remained unusual throughout the composer's lifetime.<sup>10</sup> Instruments which are known to have been in use at the time have, with few exceptions, undergone several changes in setup since then, so it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the particular setups of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>11</sup> A quartet of string instruments given to Beethoven by Prince Karl Lichnovsky in 1800 survives, but until these instruments have been sufficiently studied by experts, it remains impossible to ascertain to what extent they retain setups from Beethoven's time.<sup>12</sup> Over the course of the period, tastes in German-speaking areas slowly shifted from the highly arched models, as exemplified by Stainer, to the flatter archings of Stradivari and Guarneri 'del Gesù', still in favour to this day.<sup>13</sup> What

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<sup>10</sup> Thayer, p. 204.

<sup>11</sup> One notable exception is Paganini's violin, a Guarneri 'del Gesù' of 1742 called the 'Cannon', which has been preserved, since the violinist's death, in the condition in which Paganini used it by the city of Genoa. Its setup is nearly like that of a 'baroque' violin, with the neck almost parallel to the table, angled back slightly more than it would have been when it was built, and not set into the top block. It is described in a recent article with an accompanying poster: John Dilworth, 'True voice of Guarneri', *The Strad*, 110 (June 1999), 602-609.

<sup>12</sup> These instruments were first discussed in Alois Fuchs, 'In Betriff der Beethoven'schen Instrumente', *Wiener Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*, 6 (1864), 564. They are currently housed at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn where the catalogue descriptions are based on the labels in the instruments. For two of the four instruments there are discrepancies in dating between the WAMZ article and the Beethoven-Haus cataloguing. A 'Nicola Amati' violin is given a date of 1667 in the WAMZ, but the label in the instrument bears the date 1690, which is problematic because Nicola Amati died in 1684. The 'Andrea Guarneri' cello is dated earlier in the WAMZ (1675) than by the Beethoven-Haus (1712). Andrea Guarneri died in 1698. Both the WAMZ and the current cataloguing are in agreement in describing of the other two instruments: a violin attributed to Giuseppe Guarneri (1718) and a viola attributed to Vincenzo Ruger (1690). Until the instruments receive a proper examination it remains uncertain whether any of the attributions are accurate, or even whether the instruments are of Italian manufacture.

<sup>13</sup> Walls (1992) p. 9. Nevertheless, while Guarneri's arching was lower, like that of Stradivari, he left the top and back plate much thicker. The 'Cannon' of Paganini is one of the few Guarneri 'del Gesù' instruments which has not had its top and back plates 'rethickened' (i. e. planed thinner) to make it more closely match the style of Stradivari. (See Dilworth, p. 605.)



information has been unearthed points to very conservative practices and little real uniformity, with setups much closer to 'baroque' predominating, but probably being played alongside instruments set up nearly as 'modern'.<sup>14</sup> The priority of tonal variety over absolute volume stands in stark contrast to the trend towards louder setups, sometimes at the expense of expressive variety, which was beginning in Paris about 1800.

As a musical and commercial centre in its own right, Vienna was home to many violin makers who were able to supply most of the needs of the city without regard for developments of instrument setup and bow design rapidly taking shape in Paris and London. Many violin makers did business in Vienna, selling instruments in all ranges of price and quality, some approaching the standards of the better Italian makers, so it is likely that the majority of the instruments played were of local manufacture.<sup>15</sup> Well into the middle of the nineteenth century Austrian makers were the slowest to turn from Stainer models to those of Stradivari and Guarneri.

Though generally assumed to be widely available from 1785 onwards,<sup>16</sup> 'Tourte' bows with high heads, designed for an even sound throughout the length of the stick, seem to have been slower to win acclaim in Vienna than in

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<sup>14</sup> Especially useful for its discussion of strings and bows is Richard Maunder, 'Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700-1800', *Galpin Society Journal*, 52 (Apr 1999), 27-51 and useful for a more general overview of the state of instruments is the monumental Thomas Drescher, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, supp. vol (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990).

<sup>15</sup> On prices see Maunder, p. 28 and for a general idea of the activity of Viennese violin makers see Maunder *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> Stowell (1984), p. 317, claims 'some degree of standardization from c. 1785 onwards, as a result of the "modern" model synthesized by François Tourte.', but this fails to take into account the documented use of older styles of bows by artists such as Clement, Paganini, Mestrino, and many others who did not immediately adopt 'modern' style bows.

Paris and London.<sup>17</sup> As seen in Chapter 1, Franz Clement played a shorter bow of Italian design, probably what would now be called a 'baroque' bow, and he was probably one of many Viennese players still using such bows up until at least 1810. It was not until more than six decades after his première of the Beethoven violin concerto that this usage merited comment.<sup>18</sup> While having no direct bearing on the form of the bow stick, another indication of the conservative attachment to older styles of bows is that in the early 1780s the Viennese violin maker Johann Joseph Stadlmann was still selling and rehairing bows without screw tightening, presumably clip-in frog bows.<sup>19</sup>

Many factors in the setups which would have been prevalent in Vienna between 1780 and 1830 contribute to lower string tensions than are typical today, making it somewhat more difficult to sustain exactly the same volume and tone

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<sup>17</sup> Much confusion now exists between what are now called 'Tourte' style bows, essentially 'modern' bows, and late-eighteenth-century references to 'Tourte'. Viotti is said to have always used Tourte's bows. Jean-Louis Duport in his *Essai* of 1806 (p. 175) recommends the bows of Tourte over those of all other then-current makers. The problem is that all surviving likenesses of either of the Duport brothers which include a bow depict something with a low head and long pointed tip, similar to today's concept of a 'baroque' bow. Additionally, Viotti is shown at least once with what clearly looks like a 'baroque' bow. A pen and wash portrait in the British Museum (reproduced in 'Viotti, Giovanni Battista' in *NG*) depicts Viotti aged forty or more, so not earlier than 1795, holding a bow with a long, pointed tip and very low head. Further puzzling evidence is that Viotti chose Mestrino as leader of the Théâtre de Monsieur in 1789. According to Mestrino's pupil Woldemar, as shown in his bow chart (illustrated in chapter 1), Mestrino did not himself play on what is today called a 'Tourte' style bow. It is possible that even within the French school 'modern' bows might have been introduced later or more gradually than is generally thought. Tourte only rarely stamped his work, so current thinking which attributes few bows to François Tourte which are not of the 'modern' type might be too fixated on the idea that he invented the 'modern' bow. A glance back at Woldemar's bow chart (p. 28) will show a bow for Viotti, which would today be termed 'transitional'. Though the inward curving stick and high head are as on 'modern' bows, the head is of type widely known as a 'Cramer' bow which is often contrasted with the bows of Tourte in the literature (e. g. Stowell (1985), pp. 14-18). This bow would also appear to have an open frog without a ferrule, the ferrule being one of the innovations attributed to Tourte. Did Tourte perhaps make a greater variety of bows than is assumed, so that many are no longer recognized as his? It seems that more work must be done before this situation can be fully unravelled. (See also Thomas Drescher, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, supp. vol (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990) pp. 629-30.)

<sup>18</sup> Hanslick (p. 228, note 2) who reports Clement's use of a 'short bow in the style of the old Italian school' ('kurzer Bogen nach alt-italienischer Schule') also cited earlier in this thesis (p. 23, note 5).

<sup>19</sup> Maunder, p. 28 and pp. 42-43.

quality from the frog to the tip of the bow. Less sharply angled necks, lower pitch, and gut strings all could have resulted in lower string tensions. A slightly lower tension would have facilitated a broader range of shading within individual strokes. Throughout the period, pitch remained fairly constant between about  $a'=430\text{Hz}$  and  $a'=440\text{Hz}$ , with the tendency to be closer to the upper end of this range,<sup>20</sup> but a certain amount of erratic variation in pitch is also observable. According to Franz Wegeler, when the wind players arrived for the first rehearsal of Beethoven's op. 19 piano concerto, they were a semitone too high for his piano, so, rather than spending time retuning the piano, Beethoven transposed his part up a semitone.<sup>21</sup> Strings were made of sheep gut, plain gut for the upper strings, overwound with wire for the bottom string of the violin and the lower two strings of the viola and cello.<sup>22</sup> Locally produced strings were available from a variety of instrument makers as were, presumably better, more expensive strings from Italy.<sup>23</sup>

Though most evidence points to lower tensions than are now normal, limited knowledge about the strings in use leaves open the possibility that in some cases tensions were actually higher. Specific gauges of strings and the densities of the processed gut in use in Vienna are not known, making it uncertain what the masses of strings were, leaving a significant variable unknown in the equation which ultimately determines string tension. The

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<sup>20</sup> Haynes, pp. 362-383B. This is assuming performance of music without organ. Organs tended to be higher.

<sup>21</sup> Wegeler, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Maunder, p. 28. Winter (1994) on p. 32 states, apparently erroneously, 'The G string (the lowest of the four strings on a violin) of the first half of the nineteenth century was not wound in the gold or silver common today but rather with gut.'

<sup>23</sup> Maunder, p. 28. Maunder specifically cites the example of Stadlmann selling D strings imported from Italy for the three times to price of the local equivalent, pp. 28 and 42.

Viennese Pirlinger in his 1799 revision of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch* maintains the latter's admonitions for a thick stringing on the violin.<sup>24</sup> Though not Viennese, and published after the period under consideration, both Spohr (1832) and Romberg (1840) included diagrams of string gauges in their schools to indicate the correct thicknesses for violin and cello strings respectively. Spohr's violin string thicknesses are within the basic range of modern gut strings.<sup>25</sup> So are Romberg's cello string thicknesses, with the notable exception of the D string, which is thick enough that it would sound an octave lower than the A string if tuned to the same tension.<sup>26</sup> To bring this thick string up to a d would put it and the cello under enormous tension, giving a bright trumpet-like character to the D string and somewhat muting the sound of the other three strings, especially the A.

In Vienna it seems that a uniform sound from one end of the bow to the other might have been the last thing a violinist learned about tone production. Pirlinger in 1799 still followed Leopold Mozart's formula, insisting on a strong tone, and yet making the foundation of all tonal practice the study of modulating the tone from soft to strong and back again in various patterns within a single

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<sup>24</sup> Mozart states in Chapter 2, § 1, '...die Geige (welche etwas stark bezogen seyn solle)' [...the violin, which should be rather thickly strung] and reiterates in Chapter 5, § 2, 'Daß man gleich anfangs die Geige etwas stark beziehen solle, ist schon ... gesagt worden; und zwar darum: damit durch das starke Niederdrücken der Finger, und kräftige Anhalten des Bogens die Glieder abgehärtet und dadurch ein starker und männlicher Bogenstrich erobert werde.' [That one should string the violin thickly straight from the beginning has already been said. The reason is so that through firm finger pressur and a powerful bow hold the fingers become strengthened and thereby a strong and masculine bow stroke will be produced.] Pirlinger's words and a discussion of their intent are given later.

<sup>25</sup> In Spohr (plate 1, facing p. 8) the exact scale of the drawing is not clear, but the basic proportions of the string thicknesses are roughly the same as gut strings manufactured today, except that the E string is thicker than would be expected, by about fifteen to twenty percent.

<sup>26</sup> In Romberg's full size, fold-out diagram of various aspects of cello and bow setup (between pp. 3 and 4) the A, G, and C string thicknesses approximate those of modern gut strings, while the D is thicker than the A by a ratio of approximately 11:15, which when squared gives a ratio of mass of 121:225, nearly the 1:2 required to produce an octave change, all other factors being equal.

bow. He presents various exercises where the bow is divided into different sections, either three or five, and the player must be able to control the bow so that the sound undulates repeatedly over the course of a stroke.<sup>27</sup>

Fig. I.



Fig. II.

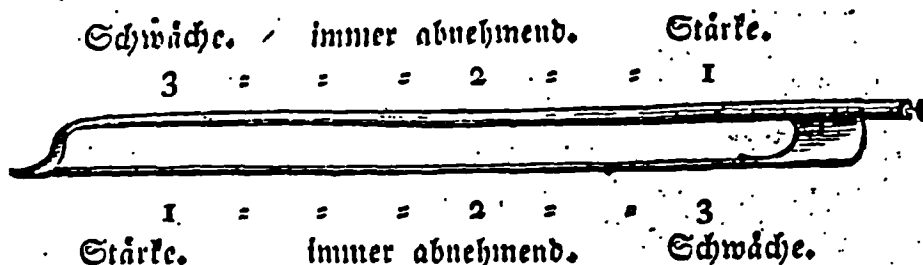


Fig. III.

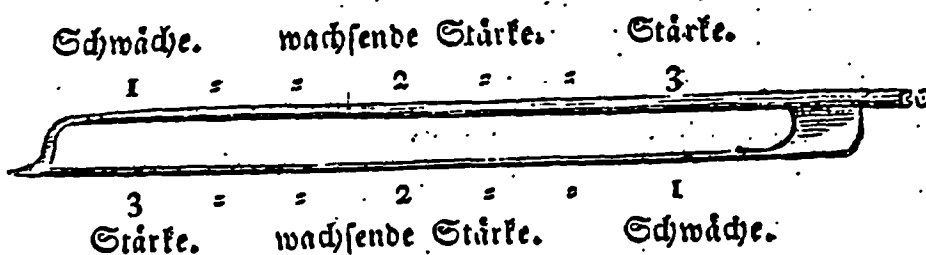
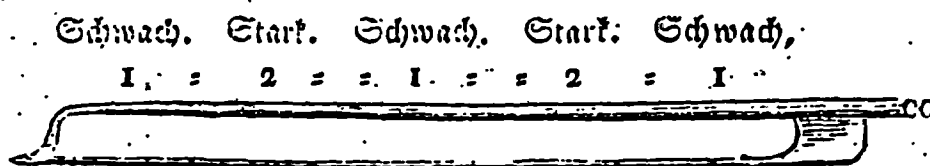


Fig. IV.



<sup>27</sup> Excerpted from Pirlinger, pp. 30-31. His terms are: *Schwäche* = weakness; *Stärke* = strength; *immer abnehmend* = gradually diminishing; *wachsende Stärke* = growing strength; *schwach* = weak; *stark* = strong. The later 1806 Viennese edition of Mozart's *Versuch* shows a still older style of bow in the analogous diagrams (pp. 30-31). It has a low, elongated swan's head and what appears to be a clip-in frog.

After the fourth figure he adds that, 'This alternating between strong and weak can be performed six or seven times in a stroke.'<sup>28</sup> He prefaces these exercises with general suggestions:

It has already been said that the violin should be thickly strung in order to strengthen the joints. Thereby...the pupil becomes accustomed to an earnest and strong stroke. Nevertheless, because each, be it even the strongest, tone has a tiny, even perhaps hardly noticeable, weakness, both before and after itself, one must know how to divide the bow into weak and strong portions in order, through emphasis and moderation, to present the tones agreeably and movingly.<sup>29</sup>

This tone production would seem to preclude sustaining through bow changes.

Only in conclusion to the various exercises in shading notes does Pirlinger suggest sustaining a note at an even dynamic level on a long, slow bow:

One ought also to try to produce an entirely even tone in a slow bow stroke. Namely, one draws the bow from one end to the other maintaining a completely even strength.<sup>30</sup>

This approach to tone production, founded on a flexible, dynamically undulating tone stands in sharp contrast to the views of the French school, expressed in the Paris Conservatory Method (1803), at roughly the same time, where the foundation of tone production is built on the 'sustained sound':

The sustained sound must be equally strong from one end of the bow to the other. To maintain this equality, one must gradually increase pressure as one nears the tip of the bow which is naturally weaker...<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> 'Diese abwechselnde Stärke und Schwäche kann sechs- und siebenmal in einem Striche vorgetragen werden.' (p. 31.)

<sup>29</sup> Pirlinger, p. 30, opens his fifth chapter with the words, 'Es ist schon oben gesagt worden, daß die Geige etwas stark soll bezogen seyn, um die Glieder etwas abzuhärten ..., und der Schüler an einen ernsthaften und starken Strich gewöhnt; doch, da jeder, wäre es auch der stärkste Ton, eine kleine doch wohl kaum merkbare Schwäche, sowohl vor als nach sich hat; so muß man den Bogen in das Schwache und Starke abzutheilen wissen, um durch Nachdruck und Mäßigung die Töne angenehm und rührend vorzubringen.'

<sup>30</sup> Pirlinger, p. 32, 'Man versuche auch, einen ganz gleichen Ton in einem langsamen Bogenstriche hervorzubringen. Man ziehe nämlich den Bogen von dem einem Ende bis zu dem andern mit einer vollkommen gleichen Stärke.'

<sup>31</sup> 'Le Son soutenu doit être également fort d'un bout à l'autre de l'archet. Pour conserver cette égalité, il faut augmenter de force à mesure qu'on s'approche de la pointe de l'archet qui est naturellement plus faible...' Baillot, et al., p. 135.

In the Vienna of Haydn and Beethoven, therefore, tone would have been judged from a dynamic rather than static viewpoint, so that the quality of a string player's tone was dependent not on the production of a particular, uniform sound, but rather on the way the whole sound was continuously being shaped and modulated from note to note and even within single notes. A note or group of notes executed at an even tone level would not have been seen as artistically viable. Therefore musical 'tone' in the current sense of a technical constant is anachronistic to the musical conception of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Vienna. Artistic tone production was more about shaping a line compellingly as an undulating stream of sound than being able to make a consistent, sweet sound in every register.

Viennese composers' interest in experimentation with dynamics and timbre would have been well served by players who wanted to exploit the full range of tonal colours. In this light Beethoven's unprecedented use of dynamic markings can be seen not just as an innovation in compositional structure but as a new way to harness qualities already inherent in the playing he knew. Pirlinger's exercises produce results which are surprisingly vocal, not only in a singing sense but also a speaking one. Perhaps it was this speaking quality, *parlando*, rather than an instrumental quality, which was the natural counterpart against which to understand the frequent indications for *cantabile* in Viennese string music.

In light of the Viennese concept of tone production, questions arise as to how Beethoven intended very long slurs in his music to be executed and how players might have actually performed them. Very long slurs, frequently called

'phrasing' slurs or 'phrase-marks' pose one of the greatest technical challenges to string players in the music of Beethoven. It is widely accepted that these long slurs are indications of phrase length but not necessarily Beethoven's intended bowing. The idea that slurs which seem difficult to execute in a single bow need to be broken into two or more bows, with legato bow changes, is so much taken for granted that it has never even been questioned in the literature.<sup>32</sup> The common assumption that these slurs were not intended as bowings is underscored by Michael Tree, who, since its founding in 1964, has been the violist of the Guarneri Quartet, one of America's two most celebrated quartets:

Sometimes respecting the original slur turns out to be easier than adopting a more 'comfortable' bowing. We play bars 114-117 [in the second movement of Beethoven's op. 131] in one bow rather than changing somewhere in the middle of the passage and risking an accent; the line remains unbroken.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear that Tree considers it the exception to 'respect' the long slurs. The quartet's usual procedure is to view long slurs as phrasings, routinely changing bow in slurs to improve ease of execution and increase volume.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Among the many authors who mention 'phrasing' slurs in Beethoven without considering whether these might actually just be slurs which happen to be long are: Stowell (1998), p. 45 and Watkin, p. 105. As authors who promote the study of historical performance practices, it is odd that these two authors do not question the assumption of 'phrasing' slurs in Beethoven. They will be discussed in some detail. Evidence of the assumption by players that long slurs are meant to indicate phrasing but not necessarily bowing can be found in the editing practices applied to Beethoven's music by string players called upon to supply fingerings and bowings, e.g. Zino Francescatti in the violin concerto, op. 61 (New York: International Music Company, 1965), André Navarra in the cello sonatas (Munich: Henle, 1971), and Max Rostal in the violin sonatas (Munich: Henle, 1978), just to name three cases amongst the many editions currently available in which Beethoven's slurs are routinely undermined with bow changes.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in David Blum, *The Art of Quartet Playing: The Guarneri Quartet in conversation with David Blum* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 186.

<sup>34</sup> The quartet's second violinist, John Dalley says, 'One wonders whether certain slurs were set down by Beethoven as only a general indication of legato or whether they were meant to show exactly where a phrase begins and ends.' (Blum, p. 176) For some specific instances of breaking slurs in op. 131 see Blum, pp. 176, 181, 182, 190, 197, 198, 200.





If indeed Beethoven's slurs are 'phrase-marks' in the first four bars, Beethoven is calling for an odd phrasing in the cello. To phrase between the first two bars and between bars 3 and 4 hardly seems appropriate. The slurs below the notes are taken from Czerny's incipit, which gives the first eight bars of the movement only. Czerny's slurs represent a perfectly plausible reading of the overlapping curves in Beethoven's autograph where the piano restates the cello's opening line in octaves. Czerny, in his incipit, like Beethoven in the piano part, was apparently indicating phrasing. Common sense would have to rule out the possibility that Beethoven, in the cello part, was indicating phrasing for this passage. It seems unlikely that Beethoven would have wanted such a disjunct phrasing from the cello, especially in light of the phrasing he gives the piano twelve bars later. The most plausible conclusion is that Beethoven was indicating his intended bowing in the cello part.

The concept of a 'phrasing' slur would have been foreign to string players at least through the first half of the nineteenth century, not just in Vienna but more generally. String method books consistently equate slurs with bowings: all notes under a slur are to be taken in a single bow.<sup>39</sup> It is good to recall that Anton Wranitzky in his brief method (p. 3) advocated above all other music that of Corelli and Tartini for developing good technique. Both these players were of the old Italian school which was particularly renowned for its cultivation of long slow bow strokes. Any serious engagement with the music of Corelli and Tartini would necessitate developing a controlled slow bow stroke.

Beethoven's violin concerto, op. 61, especially the first movement, has

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<sup>39</sup> See for example Leopold Mozart, VII/1, § 20, or Baillot (1835; repr. 1991), pp. 125-26 and p. 159 where he supplies an excerpt from the Adagio of Viotti's Concerto no. 22 to be practiced for power of sound and bow control. The longest slur contains three and a half crotchet beats with a crescendo to *forte* in the middle of the slur to be played at a tempo of quaver = 69.

been cited as a work full of 'phrasing' slurs.<sup>40</sup> The work's dedicatee, Franz Clement, played on a short bow of the older Italian style and eventually in his career would be criticized for his shortness of bowing. In his own D major violin concerto of 1806 (ex. 5.2), like Beethoven's, the longest slurs are in the first movement. In Clement's concerto slurs never exceed one bar.

Ex. 5.2 Franz Clement, violin concerto, passage from the first movement Allegro



Many editions of the Beethoven concerto indicate longer slurs than this for the violin, but Beethoven is supposed to have written this concerto with regard for Clement's special strengths.<sup>41</sup> Different editions multiply the interpretations of Beethoven's slurs,<sup>42</sup> many of them offering suggestions for breaking some of them. After the experience of the first performance of the concerto by Franz Clement in 1806, Beethoven had a score prepared by a copyist which was eventually sent to Clementi in London as *Stichvorlage* for an English edition of the concerto.<sup>43</sup> This full score contains both the violin solo part and the alternate part for piano solo. Before the score was sent to London, where it remains to this day (British Library Add. ms. 47851). Beethoven checked it thoroughly, leaving a tick mark on each line of staff. This represents the earliest

<sup>40</sup> E. g. Stowell (1998), p. 45 who recognizes the difficulty of the issue with his use of inverted commas, 'The lack of agreement amongst editors over bowings and articulations is perfectly understandable, especially considering the incidence of Beethoven's long "phrasing slurs" ...'

<sup>41</sup> See p. 23, footnote 1.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Clementi & Co. (London, 1810), Alan Tyson, 'Textual Problems of Beethoven's Violin Concerto', *Musical Quarterly*, 53 (1967), 482-502, p. 482, where he also states that this manuscript served as the *Stichvorlage* of the first edition by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie (Vienna, 1808).

source for the definitive version of the violin part.<sup>44</sup>

The differences in slurring between the autograph and Add. ms. 47851 indicate some reconsideration on Beethoven's part.<sup>45</sup> The autograph contains numerous long slurs in the first movement, while in the London manuscript the slurs in the violin part do not exceed one bar in length. In other words, after the première Beethoven revised his ideas about slurring, presumably in response to the performance by Clement.

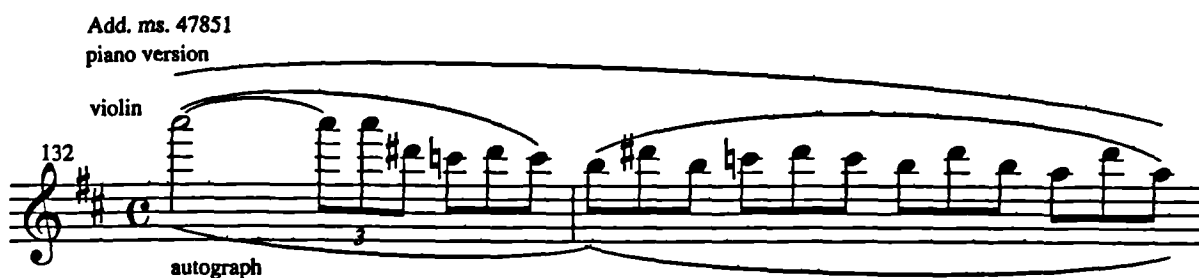
Ex. 5.3 Beethoven, violin concerto, op. 61/i, Allegro ma non troppo, autograph & Add. ms. 47851



Ex. 5.4 op. 61/i, violin and piano from Add. ms. 47851



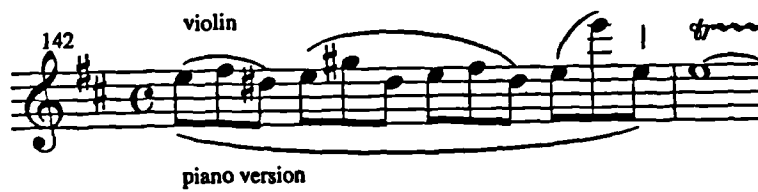
Ex. 5.5 op. 61/i, violin and piano from Add. ms. 47851 and autograph



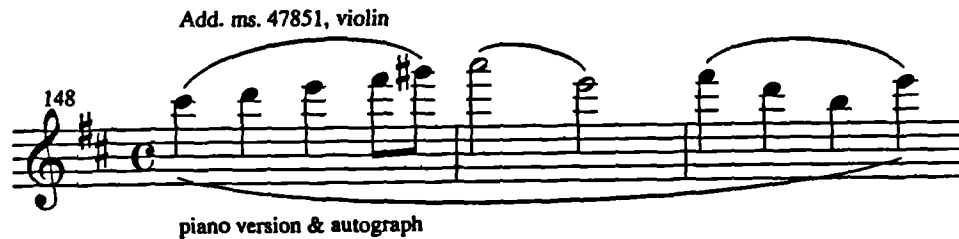
<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> It is, however, the scholarly consensus that Beethoven made his revisions to the violin part without consulting Clement (Grasberger, p. 13), though that does not rule out the possibility that Beethoven's revisions were made in reaction to Clement's performance.

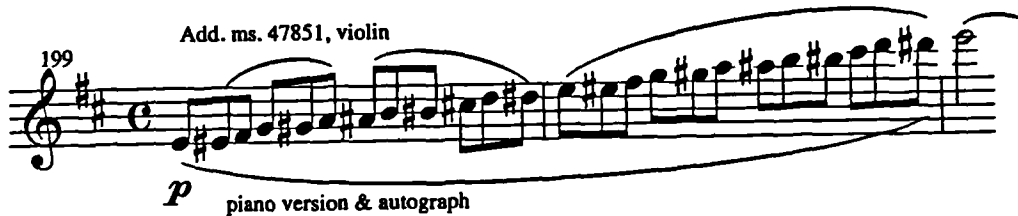
Ex. 5.6 op. 61/i, violin and piano from Add. ms. 47851



Ex. 5.7 op. 61/i, violin from Add. ms. 47851, vs. piano version and autograph



Ex. 5.8 61/i, violin from Add. ms. 47851, vs. piano version and autograph



It would seem Beethoven has revised the version of the violin part, given in Add. ms. 47851 to truly fit the style of bowing of Franz Clement. The piano version largely retains the slurs of the autograph. Was Beethoven requesting different phrasings from the two instruments? Probably not. If he could have expected the same phrasing from the violin as from the piano by using identical slurs, he would have employed the same slurs in both parts. Had he given the violin the longer slurs, he obviously could not have counted on violinists to view them as phrase-marks. Rather, they would have attempted to perform them in single bows, which would have rendered the violin part too weak in the context of a concerto with orchestra. It seems unlikely that all the one-bar slurs

were Beethoven's way to see that the player phrased a particular way. Within these one-bar slurs, just as with the longer slurs of the piano version, Beethoven did nothing further to specify the slurring. Where he did become more specific, he did so by breaking the slurs even further. In exx 5.6 and 5.8 the differences between Beethoven's version for the violin and the piano would suggest that in some instances the shorter-slurred versions of the violin part were not just simplifications, but provided more detailed directions in shaping the line.

Beethoven's revisions to the slurs in the violin concerto shed light on his different slurrings for the piano and the cello at the beginning of the op. 69 cello sonata, written not long after the violin concerto. It appears that Beethoven neither wrote his shorter slurs in the string parts out of distrust of players—after all, if Beethoven's slurs were performed emphatically in the opening of the op. 69 cello sonata, the results would clearly not be what he had intended—nor did he expect players to change them. It seems that he was writing what he believed were workable slurs, not too long for a single bow, and at the same time he was trusting the player to shape musically, not necessarily marking the beginning of each new slur. While it is possible that players might have broken Beethoven's slurs, no direct evidence survives to support this.

The real difficulties with long slurs come in Beethoven's late quartets. Deaf by this time, he could not have made revisions based on what he heard. Joseph Böhm reported rehearsing op. 127 under Beethoven's supervision:

It was studied industriously and rehearsed frequently under Beethoven's own eyes: I said Beethoven's *eyes* intentionally, for the unhappy man was so deaf that he could no longer hear the heavenly sound of his compositions. And yet rehearsing in his presence was not easy. With close attention his eyes followed the bows and therefore he was able to judge the smallest fluctuations in tempo or rhythm and correct them

immediately.<sup>46</sup>

Of course he could have also followed divergences from his bowings, but this never seems to have been an issue. Either Beethoven was not concerned about whether his slurs were taken in a single bow stroke, or he could count on musicians to respect his slurs. The former is difficult to reconcile, when Beethoven is so concerned that the performers get other details exactly as he has indicated them. Perhaps it would have been easier to rehearse in his presence if it had been possible to break his long slurs without recrimination.

Ex. 5.9 quartet, op. 127/iv

97 (Finale)

The musical score is for a quartet, op. 127/iv (Finale). It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system (measures 97-101) shows a complex texture with slurs and dynamic markings. The second system (measures 102-105) continues the texture. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The first system has dynamic markings *sf*, *p*, and *sempre p*. The second system has dynamic markings *sf*, *p*, and *sempre p*.

<sup>46</sup> Thayer, pp. 940-941.

The Finale of the op. 127 quartet contains several very long slurs in the first violin, the longest of which is shocking at first sight (ex. 5.9). It lasts for just over eight bars. Karl Holz, who played second violin in performances of this quartet, rehearsed under Beethoven's supervision, indicates a metronome marking of  $\text{minim} = 116$  for this movement. With this tempo the slur is indeed long, approximately 8.8 seconds. However, for players trained in slow bow control this is certainly playable. In the context of the *piano* dynamic it is eminently convincing as an actual bowing.

148 (Presto)

*f pp* *cresc.*

*f pp* *cresc.*

*f pp* *cresc.*

*f pp* *cresc.*

158

*f* *p cresc.*

*f* *p cresc.*

*f* *p cresc.*

*f* *p cresc.*



In the Presto of the previous movement Beethoven marks what appears to be an even longer slur, nearly nineteen bars in length (ex. 5.10), again for the first violin. This slur has the added challenge of a *crescendo* over more than half of its length. Ironically, with Holz's metronome marking of a bar = 132 this slur is very slightly shorter (8.6 seconds) than the one in ex. 5.9. In fact the length of the slurs in both examples is only a little longer than the duration of the tied E in the cello's opening to the op. 69 sonata (ex. 5.1). This is a duration which requires a good deal of control, but is not unplayable. When the intimate venues of Viennese chamber music are also taken into consideration it is clear that projecting a large sound to fill a big hall would not have been one of the requirements on Beethoven's players. For the most part a pattern emerges of long slurs which are not arbitrarily long, but which are long within certain limits. Beethoven did not, for example, write long slurs of thirty or forty seconds' duration. Eight- or nine-second bow strokes are challenging, but possible.

Perhaps the longest slurs of all are found in the Heiliger Dankgesang, the third movement of op. 132 (ex. 5.11).

Ex. 5.11 opening of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang', op. 132/iii

Molto adagio.

180

Here, though only two bars long, the slow tempo indicated by Holz (quaver = 58) means that the beginning slur in the first violin stretches out for 16.5 seconds, twice as long as the long slurs in the previous examples. Beethoven provides two clues that he does intend this slur as an actual bowing. The slurring in the second violin suggests that if he wanted a break in the first violin, he would indicate one. Furthermore, the indication *sotto voce* (below the voice) calls for a very soft, even strained, sound. The extreme difficulty of maintaining the sound over the duration of this bow is an integral part of the effect Beethoven wants.

Whether Beethoven's longest slurs are practical, is a decision to be made by individual performers, but in light of contemporaneous views of slurs and internal evidence in Beethoven's music, there is no reason to assume that he expected string players to break long slurs at their convenience. Nor is there any reason to assume that he expected a fully sustained strong tone over the duration of his long slurs. Viennese players had foundations which put a great deal of emphasis on the mastery of the long, slow bow stroke. As was seen in the last chapter, he took pains to provide fingerings for his string parts and showed a profound interest in string technique. He also took an active part in rehearsals of his chamber music and listened to reactions from the musicians he trusted. It therefore seems that his very long string slurs were intended as actual bowings.

## 6. The Repertory of Bow Strokes

A staccato passage not being expressed to the satisfaction of his eye, for alas, he could not hear, he seized Holz's violin and played the passage a quarter of a tone too flat....All paid him the greatest attention.<sup>1</sup>

Sir George Smart made this observation after witnessing a rehearsal of the quartet, op. 132 supervised by Beethoven on 9 September 1825. This quotation illustrates Beethoven's concern with specific technical realization of his bowings and articulations in string writing, even once he was totally deaf. Furthermore, Beethoven's readiness to demonstrate on the violin indicates that his conception of articulation in his string music was tied to concrete ideas of exactly how he wanted his bowings and nuances of the bow played, even to the extent that his intentions were tied to specific physiological sensations of playing them. While this episode shows Beethoven's dissatisfaction with the execution of a particular bow stroke, which in this case he was able to correct first hand, it also indicates Beethoven's awareness of the realities of performance. It implies that Beethoven would have taken pains to indicate bowings in the clearest possible manner and would have known something about how to elicit his intended realization from the players he knew. He would have, therefore, needed to be conversant in the stroke vocabulary of Viennese players.

Apart from pedagogical sources no music prior to 1830 survives with indications for the usage of up bow and down bow. In light of this dearth of

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<sup>1</sup> H. Bertram Cox and C. L. E. Cox, *Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart* (London: Longmans, 1907; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1971), pp. 108-109, also cited in Rosenblum, p. 325.

specification of bow strokes in music of the period it would seem that, either bow management was frequently haphazard, or players adhered to sets of conventions, which were comprehensive enough to cover any foreseeable musical situation. The extent of Leopold Mozart's directions in this regard and the high esteem in which his *Versuch* was held well into the nineteenth century suggest that Mozart's rules regarding the use of up- and down-bow strokes might have been widely adopted.

The primary concern in questions of bow distribution seems to have been arrangement of strokes for a 'correct' ordering of up and down bows, so that in almost all cases down beats were taken with a down bow. Pirlinger's highly compressed explanation (1799) of Leopold Mozart's rules governing the strokes, which omits Mozart's examples, is the most extensive discussion of bow strokes in a Viennese source.<sup>2</sup> When a bar of music contains an even number of notes<sup>3</sup>, it is simply a matter of beginning on the first beat with a down bow and changing bow on each note. However, in bars with an odd number of notes some sort of corrective bowing is necessary to arrive at the next downbeat on a down bow. The most common correction is the retaking of a down bow, i. e. lifting the bow and resetting it towards the frog after a down bow so that a second down bow can

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<sup>2</sup> Pirlinger, Chapter 4, pp. 27-29, which is equivalent to Leopold Mozart's Chapter 4, pp. 72-101. (Page numbers cited for Mozart's *Versuch* in the present chapter all refer to the third edition of 1787.) Pirlinger achieves such compression of Mozart's material in part by omitting Mozart's musical examples, explaining in a footnote, 'Man hat hier nur die Regeln festgesetzt, ohne sie weitläufig mit Beispielen zu belegen; weil solche in Hrn. Pirlingers praktischen Violinschule, (welche im Verlage der Musikalisch- Typographischen Gesellschaft in Wien im Drucke herauskommen wird,) nach Mozarts Grundsätzen praktisch ausgeführt oder beobachtet, vorkommen werden.' [Here the rules simply have been put forth without thoroughly demonstrating them in examples, because these [examples], following Mozart's principles, can be had in Herr Pirlinger's practical *Violinschule*, which will be published by the Musical Typographical Society in Vienna.] Pirlinger continues his discussion of the strokes in Chapter 7, 'Von der Veränderung des Bogenstriches bey gleichen Noten und bey Figuren, die aus verschiedenen und ungleichen Noten zusammen gesetzt sind' [Of the Varieties of Bow Strokes in Even Notes and in Figures which are Constituted of Even Notes]. This chapter likewise follows Mozart's lead, and while omitting most of Mozart's musical examples, does include six pages of examples of possible bowings for quavers in a three-quarter meter.

<sup>3</sup> For purposes of bowing, notes which are slurred together function as a single note.

follow in quick succession. Retaking between two notes precludes a legato connection between them. This correction is especially useful when two shorter notes follow a longer note. The other common correction, especially useful in triple meters where many bars consist of three notes of equal duration, is to follow a down bow with a double up bow, taking two notes in one bow, but stopping the bow between the notes, so that this bowing does not create an unintentional slur. This double up bow results in a detached stroke, which should sound the same as two separate strokes. The same stroke can also be executed down bow, but it is more prevalent in up bow. Leopold Mozart particularly suggests this stroke in triple meters and when two notes in a dotted rhythm follow a single note.<sup>4</sup> When this stroke is applied to dotted rhythms, it is called in modern players' parlance 'hooking' or 'hooked bowing'. As Leopold Mozart has no term to describe this bowing, I will adopt 'hooking' as a useful, concise designation.<sup>5</sup>

Although Pirlinger (1799) promised extensive examples of the arrangement of up and down strokes in a forthcoming '*praktische Violinschule*' from the Musikalisch-Typographische Gesellschaft of Vienna,<sup>6</sup> Pirlinger's edition of Mozart was already being published posthumously—Pirlinger had died in 1793—and no evidence survives of any subsequent work from this publisher. However, his highly pedagogical violin duets published under the title *Dodeci facile Duettini*

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<sup>4</sup> Leopold Mozart, chapter 4, § 29 (p. 85) and § 11 (p. 76).

<sup>5</sup> The term 'hooking' seems to be generally limited to spoken usage and is not discussed in the literature. I will consistently use the term to designate a detached stroke incorporating two notes, generally but not always in a dotted rhythm, in either bow direction. In practice hooked bowings occur more often in up bow. Stowell (1985), pp. 174-75, adopts the term 'lifted' stroke for the practice of playing two detached notes, especially in dotted rhythms, in a single stroke. However, as this term is not widely known, and the separation of the notes is achieved by a release of the bow which does not necessarily entail lifting, the term 'hooked' bowing seems more useful here.

<sup>6</sup> p. 27, see note 2 above.

*per Scolare delle Principie del Violino Composte secondo il Stilo Presente*<sup>7</sup> make very clear what direction Pirlinger's examples would have taken, and could, in fact, have been a part of his proposed treatise. In these duets, whose intent is clearly didactic, Pirlinger, shows an unusual degree of concern for marking bows (slurs as well as hookings) which will ensure that the first beat of nearly every bar arrives on a down bow. To this end Pirlinger introduces small slurs and hookings (ex. 6.1).

Ex. 6.1 from movts 1 & 2 of Duetto IV, Pirlinger



<sup>7</sup> Published in Rotterdam by L. Plattner, without date, but c. 1800.

Ex. 6.2 movt 2 of Duetto XII, Pirlinger



Arriving on a down bow on each bar is Pirlinger's chief concern in determining how to bow a piece of music. The second movement Andante from Pirlinger's Duetto XII (ex. 6.2) shows the range of different techniques he employs to ensure a down bow on nearly every bar. These bowings fit Leopold Mozart's precepts perfectly.<sup>8</sup> Slightly more care has been shown in the first violin part, the part which would normally be played by the pupil, if these duets were used for teaching. The second violin contains three bars where the bowing is not self evident: bars 4, 10, and 22, each of which contains an odd number of notes or slurred groups, so that some further correction is in order. In bar 22, clearly, a hooking is intended, analogous to bar 24. Bar 10 seems to require the same

<sup>8</sup> Based on the principles he sets forth in his Chapter 4.

hooking on beats two and three, while in bar 4 it is possible that a retaken down bow on beat two would be the best solution. All other bars where Pirlinger leaves an odd number of notes fit secondary rules of Mozart's which allow for an odd number of notes to be left uncorrected where the natural course of the music will take care of the correction quickly in the next bar. For example, in bars 17 and 18 both parts have an odd number of notes. It would even appear that the second violin should hook in analogy with what the first violin did one bar earlier. However the following bar also has an odd number of notes, which would require its own correction, were one to begin the bar on a down bow. According to Mozart's rule this is all played as it comes:

Note therefore a universal rule. If, with a long and two short notes, the first of the two short notes be taken in a down stroke, each of them is played with a separate stroke. For example:<sup>9</sup>



Bars 13 and 29 are governed by another of Mozart's rules (IV, § 8) which means that each slurred pair will be taken up bow. The two crescendos, bars 14 and 30, are taken on a down bow. Neither Mozart nor Pirlinger discusses taking advantage of the arm's weight in producing dynamic effects—the down bow has a natural tendency to a diminuendo, while the up bow tends to crescendo, as the bow transmits more weight from the arm into the string near the frog and less at the tip<sup>10</sup>—both encouraging the development of the widest possible range of dynamic shadings within a stroke in either direction.<sup>11</sup>

According to Mozart and Pirlinger, it was not only the soloist's duty to

<sup>9</sup> Kocker, p. 79. Original text: 'Man merke sich demnach als eine richtige Regel: Wenn bey einer langen und zwo kurzen Noten die erste der zwo kurzen mit dem Herabstriche genommen wird; so wird jede derselben mit ihrem besondern Strich gezeiget.' IV, § 19 (p. 80).

<sup>10</sup> This effect would be particularly pronounced with a pre-Tourte-style bow.

<sup>11</sup> See Pirlinger's diagrams for exercises in tonal variety in Chapter 5 of this thesis.



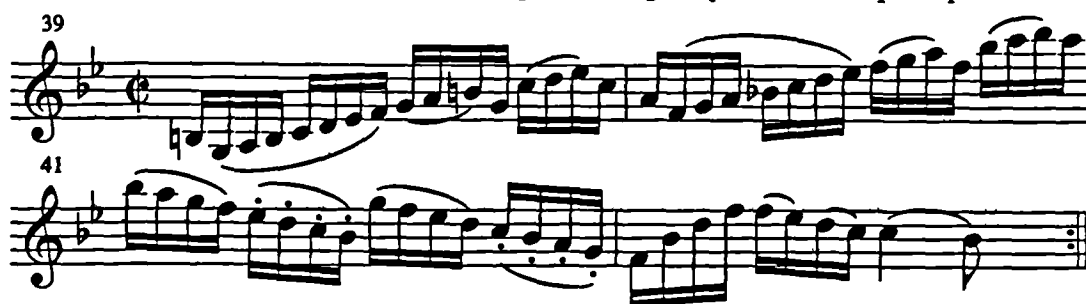
arrange bowings correctly for the proper distribution of down and up bows. It was also incumbent on the soloist to make pleasing variations of stroke in passages which consisted of continuous notes of equal rhythmic value and where no slurs or staccato were indicated by the composer.<sup>12</sup> While both authors provide copious examples, Pirlinger's are, as usual, less extensive.<sup>13</sup>

Ex. 6.3 sonata in B-flat major, K. 570, (1789), movt 3, Allegretto, W. A. Mozart



Viennese string music of the period abounds with passages in notes of a single rhythmic value, where, apparently, performers were expected to supply their own patterns of articulation, such as this example from the last movement of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's last violin sonata (ex. 6.3). According to Pirlinger and Mozart, because the composer has made no specific indication of articulation, it is left to the player's discretion to supply slurs to make the passage more interesting.

Ex. 6.4 K. 570, Allegretto, with varied bowings following Leopold Mozart's principles



Ex. 6.4 shows one of the innumerable possible bowing variations which could be formulated for the passage in ex. 6.3. As is typical of Leopold Mozart's examples,

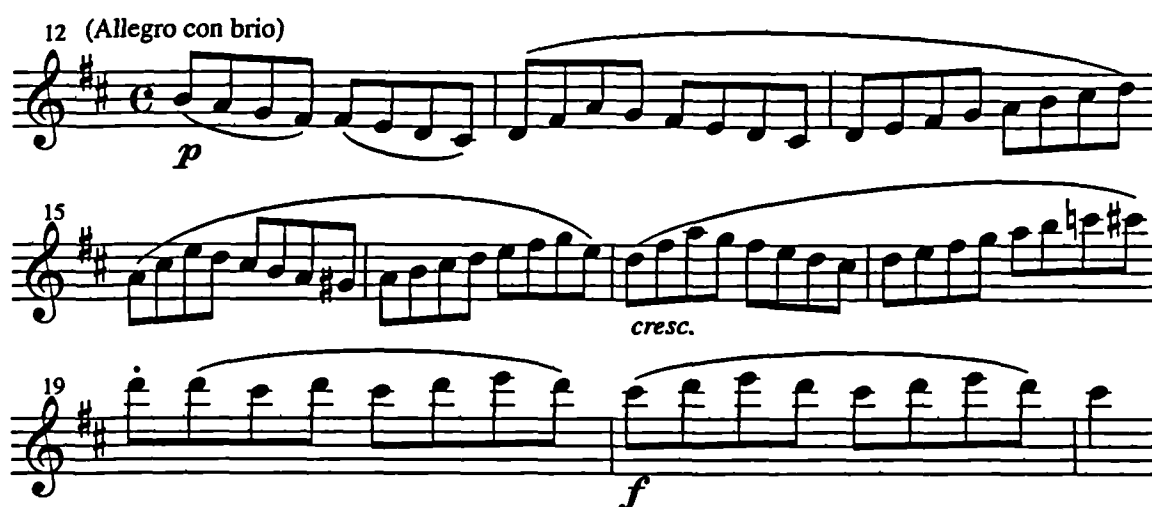
<sup>12</sup> Pirlinger, Chapter 7, pp. 35-42 and Mozart, Chapter 7, pp. 123-147.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

some of the bowings, such as the contrast between slurs and up-bow staccato in bar 41, seem purely decorative, while other slurs are more closely based on the shape of the musical line. Depending on a player's taste and musicality such variations could enhance the line or draw attention to the playing rather than the music.

No doubt players in Vienna c. 1800 were readily applying their own bowing variations to passage work. Beethoven's treatment of similar passage work in his violin and cello sonatas indicates both the prevalence of this practice of varying articulations and his response to it. Beethoven clearly did not want ornamental variations of articulation in his string music. From his earliest solo string music he was careful to indicate slurring or, where he wanted none, staccato in all passage work.

Ex. 6.5 sonata, op. 12/1, movt 1, Allegro con brio, Beethoven



Ex. 6.6 sonata, op. 12/1, movt 1, Allegro con brio, Beethoven



Unlike Mozart and other Viennese composers of the period, Beethoven was loath to leave his passage work with no indication of articulation, which would have invited the performer to supply ornamental articulations. Where Beethoven

wanted no slurs he marked dots. Passage work where neither slurs nor dots are indicated, or implied by analogy,<sup>14</sup> is exceptional in Beethoven's output. No examples exist in Beethoven's first four violin sonatas.<sup>15</sup> Beethoven's dots indicate separation and change of bow direction. Using the earlier models of bows which were prevalent in Vienna a slight separation between strokes would have come automatically whenever notes were not slurred.

As Beethoven strove for ever more precise ways of notating his music, his later string writing occasionally contains the indication *non legato* or *non ligato*, which can cause confusion to players not familiar with Leopold Mozart's dictum that where the composer fails to provide articulation the 'well-skilled violinist' must add it to dress up the music.<sup>16</sup> As Pirlinger succinctly states, 'It is especially necessary with notes of the same duration (e. g. four semiquavers) to introduce some variation.'<sup>17</sup> Beethoven supplies such indications in his quartet, op. 95 and in his cello sonata, op. 102, no. 1.

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<sup>14</sup> It is assumed that repeated notes cannot be slurred, so they do not require dots to keep them separate.

<sup>15</sup> Isolated bars of semiquavers without specified articulation occur in two movements in the op. 30 sonatas (op. 30/2/i at bars 47, 49, 180, & 182 and op. 30/3/i at bars 32 & 140), and the articulation of some semiquaver passages in the last movement of op. 30/3 is ambiguous. The first movement of op. 47 contains significant quantities of passage work in quavers without articulation markings. This is the only movement with extended passage work of the type susceptible to ornamental bowing in all of Beethoven's violin sonatas.

<sup>16</sup> Mozart, ch. 7, sec. 1, § 1: '...wenn ein wohl-geübter Violinist selbst eine gesunde Beurtheilungskraft besitzt, die, so zu reden, ganz nackenden Noten mit Vernunft abzuspielen; und wenn er sich bemühet den Affect zu finden, und die hier folgenden Stricharten am rechten Orte anzubringen.' [...when a well-skilled violinist possessing a healthy power of judgement wants to play the, so to speak, totally naked notes reasonably, and he takes pains to find the affect and to employ the following types of strokes in the right place.], p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> 'Es ist also besonders nothwendig, bey jenen Noten, die gleiches Zeitmaas habe, (Z. B. Vier Sechzehnthelnoten.) ein Veränderung beyzubringen.' [It is thus especially important with those notes which have the same rhythmic value (e. g. four semiquavers) to supply some variety.], p. 35.

(Allegro con brio)

20  
85

*sf sf ff non legato*

*sf sf ff non legato*

*sf sf ff non legato*

*sf sf ff non legato*

(Allegro vivace)

*non legato*

Though the Viennese had at their disposal a wide range of bow strokes, there is no indication in Viennese music or pedagogical material that Viennese players were experimenting with the unique possibilities of the Tourte-style bow much before 1820, and even then only gradually. Owen Jander claims that Wenzel Krumpholz 'was almost certainly using a modern bow' and that the influence of Kreutzer's *Etudes* is 'often apparent' in his writing.<sup>18</sup> Kreutzer's

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*Études*, first published about 1796 at the earliest,<sup>19</sup> only show the influence of the Tourte-style bow in later editions, successive editions gradually containing more reworked bowings that take advantage of the new bow.<sup>20</sup> It is then unclear whether Kreutzer would have been in a position to show Beethoven anything about the distinctive qualities of the Tourte-style bow when the two met in Vienna in 1798. The earliest clear evidence of experimentation with the unique qualities of the Tourte-style bow in Vienna comes in an *étude* by Mayseder, the fifth of his six *études*, op. 29, published 1820 or 1821.

Ex. 6.9 from *étude* 5, op. 29, Mayseder



This bowing, widely known as the 'Viotti' bowing,<sup>21</sup> is particularly associated with the French school and the use of the Tourte-style bow. While this bowing was a hallmark of the new French school and its execution with a Tourte-style bow gives a characteristic articulation pattern not readily copied with older types of bowings, the identical slurring pattern (without the staccato dots, as it was often

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*Abendunterhaltung*. It is clear that both Mozart, and his Viennese editor Pirlinger, were using older Italian-style bows. Jander (p. 37) also draws attention to Krumpholz's older brother Jean-Baptiste, a celebrated harpist in Paris who contributed to new developments to the harp being made in Paris, as a possible link between Krumpholz and the new developments in violin bows taking place there. Unfortunately, there is no indication that Wenzel was in any contact with his older brother, who left home when Wenzel was only about eight years old. Further, there is no evidence that Jean-Baptiste, who died in 1790, took any particular interest in developments affecting the violin.

<sup>19</sup> Kolneder, p. 358. No copy of this putative first edition (Paris: Imbault) is known to survive. According to Kolneder, publication was first announced in the *AmZ* in 1799.

<sup>20</sup> Kolneder, p. 359. See note 6 on p. 23 of this thesis.

<sup>21</sup> Described in Stowell (1985), pp. 175-76.

indicated in French sources) had already been given as one of the possible bowing variations in Leopold Mozart's *Versuch* (1756).<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, it does seem likely that by the late date of 1820, Viennese players were beginning to experiment with technical innovations of the French school, but had not fully adopted its approach.

Owen Jander contends that in the last movement from the 'Kreutzer' sonata, op. 47, Beethoven was exploring the unique capabilities of the Tourte-style bow, and further that a particular bowing technique from the French school served as the impetus for the opening material in this movement.<sup>23</sup>

Ex. 6.10 opening of the last movt of the 'Kreutzer' sonata

Jander's proposed bowing:  (At the tip of the bow.)  (Middle of the bow.)

Presto



expected Viennese execution: 

Jander believes Beethoven had in mind the 'contre coup d'archet'<sup>24</sup> as the execution of the opening of this movement (ex. 6.10). Jander suggests that Beethoven's encounters with Kreutzer in 1798, four to five years before he composed this movement, originally as the finale to the sonata, op. 30, no. 1, and his friendship with Krumpholtz, who Jander believes would have used a Tourte-style bow, were the likely means by which Beethoven could have learned of this new bowing. The problem with this supposition is that it is unclear whether Beethoven heard Kreutzer play the violin or even the extent to which Kreutzer

<sup>22</sup> IV, § 9, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Jander, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> This is the name given to this, seemingly backwards, bowing, where the upbeat is down bow and the downbeat is up bow, by Michel Woldemar in his *Grande Méthode* (Paris, 1798), p. 61. It is intended to give more clarity to the upbeat.

was actually exploiting the new bow by 1798,<sup>25</sup> and most evidence suggests that Krumpholtz played with an older style bow. If he did possess and use a Tourte-style bow, his compositions do not show him taking advantage of its unique qualities.<sup>26</sup> Jander further points to Beethoven's concern that this movement had been 'too brilliant' as a finale to op. 30, no. 1,<sup>27</sup> and suggests that it is just this use of the 'contre coup d'archet' which makes the movement so brilliant. However, either Jander's suggested bowing or the more typical bowing of the period could be executed in a virtuosic manner, and in Czerny's tempo of whole bar = 88,<sup>28</sup> much about the movement is brilliant. Apart from this rhythmic motif the movement contains much other writing which could easily be described as brilliant (ex. 6.11).

Ex. 6.11 op. 47/iii



articulations, more specific than other composers of the day, and his readiness to include fingerings where they could clarify his intentions and prevent realizations he did not want. While much effort has gone into trying to prove that Beethoven really did in some way have Kreutzer in mind, or at least the French approach, in writing the op. 47 sonata,<sup>30</sup> rather than Bridgetower, whose presence gave the actual prodding to complete this sonata, neither violinist was central to Beethoven's long-term understanding of the instrument. As was shown in Chapter 1, by this point in his life he was most familiar with the playing of Viennese violinists such as Schuppanzigh, Krumpholtz, Clement, and Anton Wranitzky, with whom he regularly worked and socialized. It is the playing styles of these men which are relevant to his general concept of the violin, more so than anything he might have heard from a travelling virtuoso.

Viennese violinists shared a repository of standardized bowing patterns and a common system of regulating bow direction. This bowing vocabulary would have influenced phrasings and articulations, especially in situations where composers left notes of equal duration without specified articulation. It is possible that players could have fallen back on practised patterns to decorate more plainly written music, regardless of the suitability of the pattern to the particular musical context. While most composers acquiesced to players' whims by leaving many passages open to elaboration with decorative bowings, Beethoven moved in a new direction by nearly always specifying articulation in his string music.

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<sup>30</sup> Jander, *passim*, and Schwarz (1958), pp. 439-40.



## 7. A Marked Set of Parts to Beethoven's op. 59, no. 3: A Case Study

### The Source

A unique set of marked parts from an early performance of the quartet, op. 59, no. 3 attests to a high standard of performance, an eloquently phrased reading of the music, requiring a sophisticated degree of coordination amongst the parts. Each of the four parts in this copy of the first-edition, belonging to the Beethoven-Archiv (Bonn), contains an astonishing array of markings. An inscription in one of the parts states that the parts were used for rehearsals and a performance in 1836,<sup>1</sup> and the hands of the markings are consistent with this date. The handwritten annotations are approximately as numerous as the editorial additions in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century editions of Beethoven quartets. This marked copy of op. 59, no. 3 is unparalleled as a nearly contemporaneous source of actual performance and rehearsal indications for a work of string music from the early nineteenth century. Despite a mention of the markings in the Bonn catalogue, these parts have not previously been examined in the scholarly literature.<sup>2</sup> These parts help corroborate conclusions reached regarding contemporaneous practices, such as the use of thoughtful

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<sup>1</sup> The inscription, which is discussed in detail later, states that rehearsing began on 11 February 1836 and was completed on 5 March 1836, when the quartet was played as part of a jubilee celebration of some sort.

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue card, in reference to the preceding entry for another set of first-edition op. 59 parts, draws attention to the contemporaneous markings thus: 'wie oben mit zeitgenössischen Aufführungsbemerkungen' [as above, with contemporaneous performance indications].

fingerings which often function in ways similar to Beethoven's and the myth of the 'phrasing' slur. They also introduce some bowing practices not documented elsewhere at this time, such as routine use of hooked bowings for dotted rhythms and the lengthening of slurs. These parts also cast light on previously unexplored issues of the early reception of Beethoven's chamber music such as the degree to which chamber music was rehearsed and the willingness of players to experiment with various interpretations.

It is not surprising that, of the three op. 59 quartets, it should be no. 3 for which such detailed performance material survives. Whereas the op. 59 quartets were not initially welcomed by players, op. 59, no. 3, the last of the set of quartets commissioned by and dedicated to Count Andrey Kyrillovich Razumovsky, immediately took its place as the most popular of the three.<sup>3</sup> Though greeted as difficult works, the entire set, and especially no. 3, quickly became a staple of the quartet repertoire.<sup>4</sup> Razumovsky held the sole rights to op. 59 for one year from the time of each work's completion, so the first performance was presumably given at his house, perhaps by Schuppanzigh, although no specifics of such a performance survive.<sup>5</sup> Because the piece was already gaining in reputation

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<sup>3</sup> The Vienna correspondent of the *AmZ* reported on 27 February 1807 '[The quartets] are profoundly conceived and splendidly wrought but not universally comprehensible, excepting perhaps the third in C major, which, through individuality, melody, and harmonic energy, is bound to win the favour of every cultivated music lover.' (Sie sind tief gedacht und trefflich gearbeitet, aber nicht allgemein faßlich — das 3<sup>te</sup> aus C dur etwa ausgenommen, welches durch Eigentümlichkeit, Melodie und harmonische Kraft jeden gebildeten Musikfreund gewinnen muß.' col. 400.

<sup>4</sup> From 1807 onwards *AmZ* correspondents report frequently on performances of the op. 59 quartets. Their second appearance in the pages of the *AmZ* evidences their rapid rise to celebrity, even before they had appeared in print: 'In Vienna Beethoven's newest difficult but refined quartets give ever more pleasure; the amateurs are hoping soon to see them engraved.' (In Wien gefallen Beethovens neueste schwere, aber gediegene Quartetten immer mehr; die Liebhaber hoffen sie bald gestochen zu sehen.) *AmZ*, 5 May 1807, col. 517.

<sup>5</sup> Thayer assumes that the *AmZ* report of 27 February 1807 implies that a performance of the quartets had already taken place which the reporter had attended (p. 409). Schuppanzigh, who by 1808 would have an official position in Razumovsky's household as quartet leader, would have been the leader of any performances during this first year.

before its publication, manuscript parts in one or more sets must have been in circulation in Vienna between 1806 and 1808. The whereabouts of any such parts, should they still exist, are unknown.

A brief discussion of the sources for op. 59 will help put this set of marked parts into context. Beethoven's autograph score to op. 59, no. 3 passed through a series of owners between leaving the possession of Karl Holz in 1829 and entering the collection of the Beethoven-Haus in 1904. The title page of the autograph bears the inscription, 'quartetto terzo Da luigi van Beethoven'. The first edition of op. 59 was the set of parts issued in January 1808<sup>6</sup>: 'TROIS QUATUORS / pour deux Violons, / Alto / et / Violoncello. / Composés par / Louis van Beethoven / — / Oeuvre 59 / Livraison [space for a handwritten number] / [left: plate nos.] 580. 584. 585. [right] f 8 / A VIENNE / Au Bureau des arts et d'industrie / À Pesth chez Schreyvogel & Comp.' Within a couple years reprints and various pirated copies were circulating all across Europe.<sup>7</sup> While many copies of various early editions survive, including some others with minimal performance indications, these are the only ones from which it is possible to gain any impression of a musical interpretation.

The Beethoven-Archiv possesses two copies of the first-edition, Bureau des arts et d'industrie, sets of parts to the op. 59 quartets. The first of these is a very clean set of parts in fine condition, betraying little evidence of its age, essentially identical to many other copies in other libraries. Such an item in pristine condition is typical of the holdings of important collections. This set,

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<sup>6</sup> Kinsky, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> Other early editions of op. 59 include Simrock (Bonn, 1808), Bernard Schott (Mainz, [c. 1810]), Imbault (Paris, [c. 1810]), Astor & Co. (London, [c. 1809]), Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis (London, [c. 1810]).

like most of the first- and early-edition parts in libraries today, belongs presumably to the number of publications bought by wealthy connoisseurs and patrons. Beethoven's patrons regularly bought multiple copies of his new works to support the composer,<sup>8</sup> but perhaps this also ensured that clean copies could be preserved, even if others became marked and soiled in the course of being used. Indeed, most editions in modern libraries appear to have survived because of such collections. Editions showing signs of use in practical music making before the middle of the nineteenth century are thus rare. Quartet players might have routinely filled their parts with performance indications, but this would have rendered the parts worthless to collectors, giving marked parts precious little chance of surviving the players who used them.

In order to evaluate the markings in these parts with regard to Viennese players' practices it is necessary to establish as much information as possible about the performance these parts document. Fortunately, someone who appreciated the effort that went into the preparation of these parts supplied an inscription hinting at their provenance.<sup>9</sup> In the upper, right-hand corner on the blank, first page of the viola part is a faded inscription pencilled in old German script, followed by a more recently pencilled transcription of this text in a modern German hand, apparently added to preserve the information of the faint original. The inscription reads:

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<sup>8</sup> For example, thirty-two copies of the op. 1 piano trios were bought by seven or fewer members of the Lichnovsky family as subscribers to its first edition, Thayer, p. 401.

<sup>9</sup> A few more words about the state of the source are in order here. This set of parts lacks the first quartet, op. 59, no. 1. Op. 59, no. 2, contains what would seem a wealth of markings were it not for the abundant written indications in op. 59, no. 3. The parts retain threads and some stitching at the spine from having at one time been bound into a single volume with gilt edging still visible on most pages. The parts are still stored in the order in which they were bound, with the viola part to no. 3 as the first item.

angefangen zu studieren  
den 11 Februar 1836  
vollendet den 5 März 1836  
gespielt daselbst am Jubiläum  
des H. Direktor M [followed by 4 or 5 unclear letters]<sup>10</sup>

It is most likely Karl Möser (Moeser), the Berlin violinist and conductor, to whom 'des H[errn] Direktor' applies. The names which might match the inscription are the piano maker Johann Moser, mentioned briefly in a Beethoven letter of 23 November 1803 to Breitkopf & Härtel;<sup>11</sup> Ignaz Franz, Edler von Mosel (1772-1844) a founding member in 1813 of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and one of three chief mourners at Beethoven's funeral, who was from 1829 until his death the principal *custos* or warden of the Imperial Library;<sup>12</sup> and Karl Möser (1774 -1851), active primarily in Berlin as quartet and orchestra leader, who was responsible for many first performances of Beethoven's works in that city. Johann Moser seems unlikely both due to his obscurity and the fact that the title *Direktor* cannot be associated with him. Ignaz von Mosel was prominent in Viennese musical circles and closely associated with Beethoven, but again the title *Direktor* does not fit. The most compelling case is for Möser who from 1792 played in the private quartet of Friedrich Wilhelm II, for whom Beethoven had written his op. 5 cello sonatas. He was officially exiled from Berlin in 1796 for his part in an affair with the King's illegitimate daughter, the Countess of Mark, so he is unlikely to have come into

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<sup>10</sup> The word 'studieren' is fully legible only in the transliteration. In the original inscription only the first three letters can be read reliably, so it is not clear whether the original spelling was actually 'studieren' or some variant form such as 'studiren'. Unfortunately, the faintness of this writing precludes its being reproduced here.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson/Beethoven, no. 86, p. 101.

<sup>12</sup> Beethoven wrote a lengthy letter to Mosel (Vienna, 1817) affirming his conviction in the value of the metronome (Anderson/Beethoven, no. 845, p. 727).

contact with Beethoven at this time, but he was in Vienna in 1804. Both Haydn and Beethoven praised his playing of their quartets.<sup>13</sup> During his stay in Vienna he became well acquainted with Beethoven and Schuppanzigh and attended rehearsals there.<sup>14</sup> Möser would have been familiar with Schuppanzigh's performances of Beethoven's quartets and likely would have been influenced by them. While in exile from Berlin in 1796 he is thought to have met Rode and Viotti, though how this might have affected his playing is unclear. From 1813 he instituted public quartet concerts in Berlin, performing primarily the quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.<sup>15</sup> He expanded these concerts to include orchestral performances in 1816. From 1812 he was *Konzertmeister* of the *Hofkapelle* and in 1825 was named its *Musik-Direktor*, perhaps the title to which this inscription alludes.<sup>16, 17</sup> If it is Möser who is named in the inscription on these quartets, then presumably he would have been the leader of this quartet.

Möser was held in high esteem and considered an exceptional champion of Beethoven's quartets and symphonies.<sup>18</sup> Regarding Möser's authoritative

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<sup>13</sup> Edmund van der Straeten, *The History of the Violin: Its Ancestors and Collateral Instruments from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 2 vols (London: Cassell, 1933), I, p. 374.

<sup>14</sup> Thayer, p. 331, where he quotes the Prague physician, Dr Johann Theodor Held, who met Beethoven during an 1803 visit to Vienna. Beethoven invited the doctor to a quartet rehearsal at Schuppanzigh's, where he, 'met a number of the best musicians gathered together, such as the violinists Krumbholz [*sic*], Möser (of Berlin), the mulatto Bridgethauer[*sic*], ... also a Herr Schreiber [a violinist] '.

<sup>15</sup> In 1828, for example, he included a performance of Beethoven's a minor quartet, op. 132 (*AmZ*) 30 (1828), col. 363.

<sup>16</sup> Winter (1994), p.42.

<sup>17</sup> According to van der Straeten (1933), I, p. 374, in 1829 Möser 'celebrated his jubilee', though it is not clear exactly what this means. The *AmZ* between 1828 and 1838 contains no specific mention of any concert celebrating anyone's jubilee. Furthermore, it contains no record of a performance of Beethoven's op. 59, no. 3 on or near 5 March 1836, the date given in the inscription in these Bonn parts.

<sup>18</sup> In correspondence of the late 1820s Goethe and Carl Friedrich Zelter, both highly praised Möser's quartet performances (Botstein, Leon, 'The Patrons and Publics of the Quartets: Music, Culture, and Society in Beethoven's Vienna', in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. by Robert

qualities as a quartet leader Carl Friedrich Zelter, director of the Berlin Singakademie from 1800, wrote that he:

so electrifies his fellow players that the hearer also does not know what is happening to him. One believes that one is playing along; one understands the unfathomable, one is possessed—one does not know by what.<sup>19</sup>

His reputation could have played a large role in the preservation of these parts. The order in which the parts were once bound gives pride of place to no. 3, the more heavily marked quartet and places the inscribed viola part first. Here we find a collector who placed real value on marked music as a record of a particular performance.

### Bowings

Three bowing practices emerge which strongly characterize the approach to string playing evidenced in these parts: keeping Beethoven's slurs intact by not changing bow direction in the midst of a slur; hooking,<sup>20</sup> in dotted rhythms at various rhythmic levels; and extending slurs to include final notes of figures or phrases. Keeping slurs intact and hooking pairs of notes of shorter duration were common practices in Vienna at the time this quartet was written, but the systematic lengthening of slurs and the extensive use of hooked bowings of longer duration are departures from Viennese practice. The prevailing principle in these parts is that the number of notes taken in a bow can be increased beyond what is printed by adding slurs and lengthening the existing slurs, but it cannot

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Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 77-110 (p. 77).

<sup>19</sup> Letter of 1829 to Goethe as quoted in Botstein, p. 77.

<sup>20</sup> Hooked bowings are described and discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

be decreased by omitting slurs or breaking printed slurs into more than one bow. It is the rare exception in these parts to have bowings which break Beethoven's slurs, even the longest of them. Slurs are added which incorporate two or more of Beethoven's slurs. Hooked bowings are added to dotted rhythms and triplets. Where long slurs are followed by a final note not included in the original slur, these final notes are consistently slurred into the phrase or figure. Frequent markings for up bow and down bow are used to ensure uniform execution and sometimes to clarify bowings in otherwise ambiguous situations.

The use of hooked bowings in the execution of dotted rhythms characterizes this performance. In subsequent playing hooking has become such a staple of all string practice, that the revival of non-hooked dotted figures by the early music movement has become an article of faith, which, in Beethoven's case, may actually be anachronistic. Hooking permits greater sustaining between the dotted note and the short note following it and generally allows for a more straightforward distribution of the bow.

Ex. 7.1 Allegro vivace, violin I<sup>21</sup>



Hooking is one of the options available in Viennese tutors such as Pirlinger's edition of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch*.<sup>22</sup> Considering the context—this rhythm

<sup>21</sup> Examples in this chapter follow the text of the second Bonn copy (shelf-mark C 59/13 (4520)) of the first edition to op. 59, no. 3. Handwritten markings in the source are shown well above the staff to differentiate them from what is printed in the edition. I retain errors of the edition, with comment as necessary.

<sup>22</sup> Pirlinger discusses hooking notes of uneven values to one another to simplify bow management (p. 35), whereas Leopold Mozart's original edition (1756), which generally contains more detail than Pirlinger, additionally gives several examples of hooked bowings in dotted rhythms analogous to



alternates with pairs of slurred quavers—the hooking is little surprise, being one of the most comfortable realizations for passages like this. Similar hooked bowings are marked in all four parts at the opening of the development (bars 111 ff.), where analogous material is seen in all four parts. Hooking could also simplify bow management, apart from dotted rhythms, where a longer note, or group of notes under a slur, is followed by two shorter ones, especially in situations where this rhythm repeats several times. Though the hooked bowing in ex. 7.2 is only specifically marked in the cello part in bar 53, it is likely, based on the high degree of agreement amongst the parts at other points, that all four players would have used this execution in both bars. The down-bow signs in the cello and the missing slur and dots in the first half of bar 54 in no way contradict a continuation of the bowing pattern from the previous bar.

Ex. 7.2 Allegro vivace, cello

The hooking marked in the cello part at bar 53 is marked with paired up-bow signs rather than a slur, but it is essentially the same practice as seen thus far, in

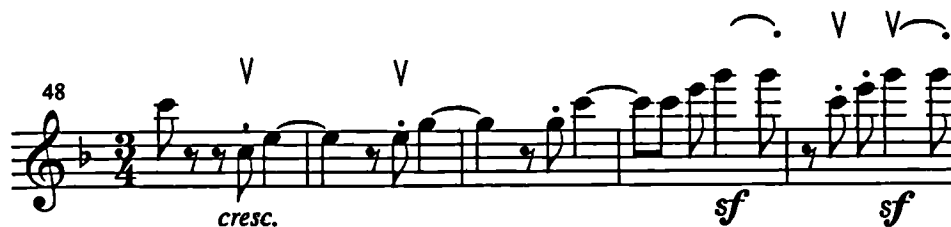
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those in ex. 7.1 (p. 139).

that hooking is used on pairs of notes played up bow alternating with printed slurs whose rhythmic value equals the length of the hooked pairs. By hooking in these instances, the player significantly simplifies the bow management without audibly going against the intended articulation. The rhythmic value of the down bow is exactly equal to the duration of up bow, so the bow speed can remain essentially constant and the entire passage can be played in the same part of the bow. Hooking in passages such as these is predictable when one takes into account the counsel of contemporaneous treatises.<sup>23</sup>

A more unusual hooked bowing occurs in the trio section of the Menuetto in the first violin part (bars 51-52 in ex. 7.3).

Ex. 7.3 Trio, violin I<sup>24</sup>



An up bow can be assumed for the upbeat in the middle of bar 50, so that the hooked bowing at the end of bars 51 and 52 comes out on an up bow. While hooking is slightly easier in an up bow, the sforzandi are rendered more difficult. By 1836 it seems certain that Möser would have been playing with a modern-style bow which would provide the leverage needed to punch out up-bow accents in the upper half of the bow, making this bowing feasible. Such a bowing

<sup>23</sup> By analogy, this hooked bowing might be applied in the last movement in passages such as bar 47 ff., though the parts do not show this to be the case.

<sup>24</sup> In the source, different up- and down-bow signs are used in different parts, always as manuscript additions. I render them consistently with the standard, modern signs.

would have been much less likely thirty years earlier in Vienna when the quartet was first written and such bows were not yet widespread.

Hooked bowings with longer note durations, which are foreign to the approach of Pirlinger c. 1800 in Vienna form an important feature of the style of this performance. Hooked bowings would be expected in chains of rapid dotted rhythms, but would be surprising when the dotted rhythms occur in longer note values such as dotted minims and crotchets. At quick speeds hooked bowings add lightness, by smoothing the stroke, while at slower tempos hooked bowings tend to add weight by increasing the length of the dotted notes. It is precisely these hooked bowings in longer note values which contribute to the special character of this performance. This practice appears first in the viola and cello (ex. 7.4) with the moderately slow rhythm of dotted crotchet - quaver.

Hooked bowings are a feature of the style, and yet the need to indicate hooking consistently suggests that this practice was not so firmly established as to be taken for granted. It is further possible that an attempt was being made to create an accurate record of the performance. In example 7.3, where the hooking actually presents a difficulty, the need to mark it is clear. In the examples which follow, where the hooking gradually takes on larger dimensions which depart altogether from eighteenth-century practice, the markings were probably essential to ensure the desired execution.

Example 7.4 Allegro vivace, hooking in viola and cello<sup>25</sup>

The hooking, however comes into its own as a special feature when this rhythm is presented in augmentation at half the speed (ex. 7.5). The hooking does not begin until after the rhythm has been incisively established in *ff* with separate bows. The smoother hooking presages a diminuendo.

<sup>25</sup> Analogous hooked bowings at the same rhythmic level occur in the three lower parts in bars 104 and 105 and in all four parts beginning in bar 167. The passage at bar 104 is different because instead of dotted crotchets Beethoven writes crotchets followed by quaver rests, but as far as bow distribution is concerned the passages present the same solution to what is essentially the same problem.

Ex. 7.5 Allegro vivace<sup>26</sup>

In addition to simplifying bow management in situations which would otherwise call for unequal bow distribution, hooking smooths the line and prevents unintended accents on the short notes. Freed from concentrating so heavily on bow distribution the player can focus more on musical line, perhaps making it easier to mould the phrase. Hooking also allows the dotted notes to be sustained for their full value, whereas a long succession of notes in a dotted rhythm played separately usually necessitates some shortening of the dotted notes if the short notes are not to receive an undue emphasis.

The tendency to assimilate single notes into slurred groups can be seen where long slurs have been extended to include a final note which had been notated separately, a practice which could be called 'overslurring'. This occurs throughout the first three movements, but is most prevalent in the first movement (ex. 7.6).

<sup>26</sup> Though the viola part does not indicate hooking (ex. 7.5), presumably the violist would have matched the bowing of the cellist.

Ex. 7.6 Allegro vivace, cello



The rationale is clear. Here overslurring helps prevent an unwanted accent on the downbeat. The frequency with which this type of bowing occurs, however, suggests it was almost a cliché of the style and was occasionally applied out of habit without sufficient regard for the particular context, for example here (ex. 7.7). The sudden forte, coming presumably at the tip of the bow, at the end of a long slur is impractical and will be difficult to perform effectively.

Ex. 7.7 Allegro vivace, violin II



In many passages in the first violin overslurring has been marked in *Rötel* (a red-brown pencil) and then subsequently erased.<sup>27</sup>

In marking bowings, these players felt free to add slurs but were very unlikely to break slurs already there. It was, therefore, the policy to take Beethoven's slurs to heart as actual string slurs and not treat them as 'phrasing' slurs which could be broken for convenience or in order to increase the sostenuto and volume of the line.

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<sup>27</sup> Erased overslurs occur in the first violin part of the first movement in bars 65-67 and 69-71 and later in places such as bars 140-142, 205-207, and 207-209, among other places.

Ex. 7.8 Introduzione: Andante con moto<sup>28</sup>

Introduzione  
Andante con moto

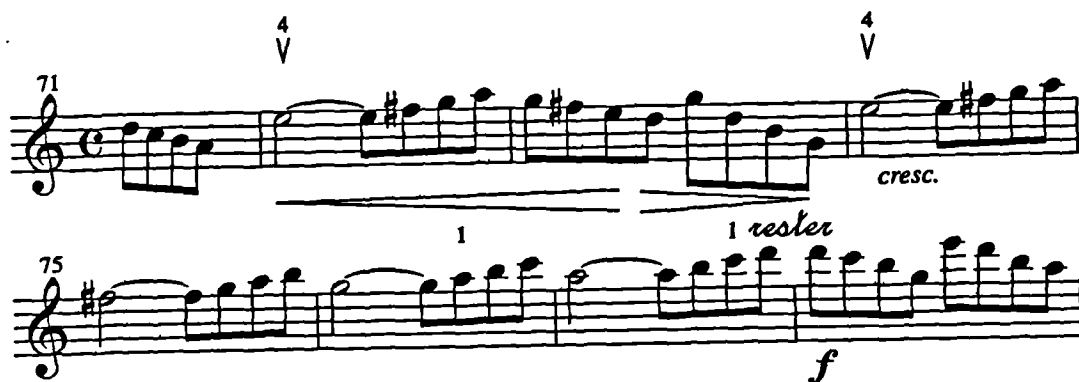
The musical score is written for a full orchestra, including strings, woodwinds, and brass. It is in 4/4 time and marked 'Andante con moto'. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-9) begins with a forte (f) dynamic and transitions to piano (pp) and pianissimo (ppp) dynamics. The second system (measures 10-19) continues the texture with various slurs and hairpins. The third system (measures 20-24) concludes the introduction. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, hairpins, and dynamic markings.

Despite the players' willingness to add slurs and increase the length of

<sup>28</sup> In this example dotted slurs indicate the manuscript slurs from the parts. The hairpins in the second violin and viola parts (bars 14-18) are manuscript indications, as are the fingerings in the first violin and all up- and down-bow signs.

Beethoven's notated slurs, the rare occasions where slurs are broken are mostly for purposes of correction (i.e. to realign stroke direction with down bows on important beats) rather than matters of convenience. This is especially true in the *Introduzione* (ex. 7.8) to the first movement, where the players have broken some of the long slurs in order to synchronize bow changes among the four parts. It is worth noting that even in this passage some bowings devised by these players call for longer slurs than in the edition.

Ex. 7.9 Allegro molto (last movement), violin I<sup>29</sup>



Like Viennese players, these players showed a willingness to experiment with unconventional practices in order to achieve a desired effect. A good example is the curious bowing which can be seen in the first violin part in the last movement (ex. 7.9). The marked up bows use the arm's natural weight to make the most of the crescendos. Up bows are logical choices for notes which need to crescendo, but, if no further adjustment is made, the following quavers will be bowed backwards. While possible, this would be awkward. Perhaps the first quaver after the tied note would have been hooked into the up bow, thereby getting the bow back into the normal direction for the end of each bar and the beginning of the following bar.

<sup>29</sup> The 'restes' indication at the end of bar 77 tells the player, who has just shifted into fifth position on the first finger, to remain in that position.



## Fingerings

The players who prepared these parts were clearly aware of the value of thoughtfully chosen fingerings in shaping a declamatory performance of Beethoven's music. As has been seen, Beethoven himself took a keen interest in string fingerings. It was during the composition of the op. 59 quartets that the first edition of the triple concerto with its amply fingered cello part was published. The op. 59 quartets are themselves a rich source of fingerings in Beethoven. In the first edition all three quartets contain fingerings, most of which in op. 59, nos. 1 and 2 go back to the autograph itself where they are written in Beethoven's hand.<sup>30</sup> The style of fingerings in the Bonn parts is consistent with those Beethoven supplied. As will be seen, fingerings are used variously to underpin figures, articulate phrases, and control the tone colour. In passages of the quartet where Beethoven supplied printed fingerings, these were respected by the performers.

Fingering was used creatively as an expressive device. Fingerings were added which might pose technical challenges, but were chosen to underpin a phrase, figure, or other feature of the music. As with bowings, fingerings were coordinated from part to part. The viola and cello make an apt use of expressive fingering (ex. 7.10).

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<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 4.

Ex. 7.10 Allegro vivace, viola and cello

177 3 3 2 V 183 1 2 2

*pp* *pp*

(*p*) *pp*

In both places (bars 177-78 and 183-84) the smoothness of the quiet, semitone ascent is enhanced by sliding on one finger. Beginning each of these spots with an up bow adds to the delicacy. The cello slides on the second finger each time, while the viola slides first on the third finger and then on the first finger. The particular finger employed in each slide is itself unimportant, whereas it is the consistent use of the slide which brings expressive coordination to the parts.

On the whole the fingerings marked in the Bonn parts show a similarity of style with Viennese sources. Shifts tend to occur at points of articulation (ex. 7.11).

Ex. 7.11 Allegro vivace, violin I

197 3 3 1 1 1 3 4

Shifts occur frequently on the same finger moving just a tone or semitone.<sup>31</sup>

Frequently, passages are played in a single position, as evidenced by the many

<sup>31</sup> Whole-step or half-step shifts on the same finger are indicated in the first violin in bars 51, 184, 199, 216, and 218.

'rester' indications in the first violin part.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, open strings, and to a lesser extent harmonics, are played frequently. Harmonics are explicitly marked twice in the first movement, while open string markings are written in no fewer than nine places. These are, of course, in addition to the many implied and necessary open strings.

The slower second movement of this quartet shows the same density of markings, both fingerings and bowings, as the first movement. Markings in slow movements are almost exclusively concerned with fixing details of interpretation to ensure that expressive choices made in rehearsal can be realized in performance. Though it is already clear that the markings in the first movement go far beyond the minimum required to guarantee a secure, competent performance, the equal care lavished on the slower second movement, which contains fewer potential string-playing pitfalls, reinforces the impression of the players' concern for detail.

A strong commitment to the characterization of musical motifs can be seen in the consistency with which recurring material is fingered. An excellent example can be found in the cello part to the last movement (ex. 7.12).

Ex. 7.12 Allegro molto, cello



The fingered figure appears four times, at three different pitch levels, and each time the fingering is the same. As only the first note is fingered in each case, and

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<sup>32</sup> The word 'rester', or a fingering followed by a squiggly line, also used to indicate staying in a single position, occurs in the first violin at bars 44-45, 112-113, and 180-181 in addition to the many places where the fingerings imply the use of a single position.

this fingering does not permit playing the entire figure in one position, it can be assumed that the intended execution is on one string, shifting to the first finger in the middle of each bar, thus the need to re-mark the fourth finger in the second bar of each passage. For a realization in one position, each figure would need to begin on the second finger. This consistency in fingering analogous passages does much to reinforce motivic identity.

### Other Interpretative Markings and Rehearsal Procedures

These parts from the collection of the Beethoven-Archiv offer a fascinating glimpse of a very thorough rehearsal process. Each part is marked in a different hand, though occasional markings in the second violin part appear to be in the hand of the first violinist. Several writing implements were used, primarily graphite pencil and *Rötel*. All parts include erasures, especially the second violin. Except for the part of the second violin, which seems to have been used subsequently in a different formation, erasures usually suggest ideas which were tried and then changed for this performance. With few exceptions the markings in the parts are coordinated so that they agree as to the execution of particular passages. In passages where parts move together their bowings are matched. When figures recur within one voice or in another part they are articulated the same way. In similar or identical passages in the same or different parts, where fingerings are supplied, whenever possible, they are repeated or matched with analogous alternatives.

These quartet players were deeply concerned about unanimity of phrasing and efficient use of rehearsal time. To these ends they marked an elaborate

system of bar numbers into the parts. The bars, however, are not simply numbered consecutively from beginning to end of each movement. Instead, individual sections of the movements of anywhere from eight to more than eighty bars are numbered, beginning again with one for each new section. This division into phrases and groups of phrases could even be seen as the skeleton of a rudimentary analysis of the piece, though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider that here. These complicated series of numberings are accurately duplicated in all four parts. The most obvious purpose of these bar numbers would be to save time in rehearsals by making it possible for everyone to jump quickly to the same place in the music. However, beyond facilitating rehearsal, these numbers could help with large-scale pacing and phrasing.<sup>33</sup> Even if not consciously used to guide pacing, the presence of these numbers, subdividing all the parts identically, would have influenced the four players' corporate sense of structure. In many places the bar numbers are very faint, although no evidence of erasure, such as worn paper, shows itself, so probably these numbers were written lightly to avoid confusion with fingerings.

The markings used for the opening of the quartet, the *Introduzione: Andante con moto* (ex. 7.8), provide ample evidence of unanimity of expression and the detailed rehearsal work required to reach this stage. As a microcosm of the approach taken in the entire quartet, the *Introduzione* deserves a closer look. Not only are the bowings well coordinated in this twenty-nine bar introduction, but they have been carefully chosen to reinforce Beethoven's

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<sup>33</sup> The numbers here divide the music with much more detail than the widely spaced rehearsal letters occasionally found written into parts at this time. See, for example, the parts to the Imbault edition of op. 59 in the British Library where in the first movement of op. 59/1 all the parts have four rehearsal letters written in coloured pencil (A at bar 20, B at bar 69, C at bar 118, and D at bar 147).

dynamic and harmonic schemes. This opening section is one of the very few places in the quartet where any slurs are broken, but where this occurs (e. g. bar 12 in the cello) the aim is unity of phrasing rather than ease of execution. Only the second violin part, which shows signs of heavy-handed erasure at some point subsequent to this performance, presents any serious discrepancies. The up-bow sign marked in the second violin part in bar 6 indicates that the second violin would have matched the three-bar slur (bars 6-8) of the other three parts, for otherwise this up bow without the slur would be meaningless. Whether the first violin would have executed the five-bar slur beginning in bar 20 in one bow is unclear. The edition erroneously slurs from the beginning of bar 20 to the downbeat of bar 22, creating this long slur, where Beethoven's autograph has a two-bar slur here with a fresh attack at bar 22. In bars 16 and 19 where the second violin changes bow direction alone, this may have been intentional. In bar 16 the second violin is the only part which changes pitch, and in bar 19 the bow change is analogous to the first violin part in bar 14. Presumably the tie missing from the second violin part, going into the last bar, was supplied by the player. This sort of detailed integration of markings amongst parts, with each part referring to the others, is visible through the entire quartet.

The minimal fingering supplied in the *Introduzione* by the first violinist is not without interest. That a fingering is needed at all on the first note, actually a double stop unison employing the open A string and the fingered D string, implies a departure from the most obvious realization. The first violin begins in third position rather than the more usual first position. Such a fingering might seem arbitrary, but in the context of what follows, and to a certain extent the context of Beethoven's dynamic indication, it becomes clear that this fingering is

wisely chosen. The second finger is stronger than the fourth finger which would be employed in first position. This gives the violinist a sense of strength in the left hand which reinforces the right hand's need for a firm attack on the *forte* opening. Setting up third position for bars 5 to 7 means that it will be easier to play a fluid fourth across the D and A strings. The shift back to second position in bar 10 prepares the first violinist for bar 13 where the minim g'' and the trill on a-flat'' can be executed smoothly in one position, while the semitone shift on the first finger at the end of the bar, which, if carefully negotiated, will be all but inaudible, prepares the hand for an ascent to d''' without further shifting.

The *Introduzione* contains one of the few instances where the players added dynamic markings to these parts, but their procedure here is indicative of their overall approach. As with slurs, the principle seems to be that where nothing is marked it is possible to add something, almost as way of an enhancement, but it would be unthinkable to take away marked dynamics. Hairpins enliven the inner voices in bars 14-18, the second violin swelling to the local resolution of its line in bar 16, while the viola's crest coincides with the arrival of the c minor harmony a bar later. These hairpins support the second violin's bow change on the downbeat of bar 16, one bar earlier than the other voices. This bow change comes directly at the dynamic peak, as marked in this part. The treatment in this opening section shows an attention to detail in the inner voices, which can make a real difference between an adequate and an exceptional performance.

These musicians were attentive to the discrepancies in their parts, in some cases actual errors in the first edition, and took pains to correct them. The first edition parts these musicians used were rife with bowing errors in the Menuetto.

Many bowings Beethoven included in his autograph were omitted from the published parts. Apparently, by adjusting the parts for consistency, the performers managed to correct most of the errors. While another more accurate source for the quartet might have been available in preparing this performance, it seems more likely that Beethoven's bowings were reached through a diligent process of comparison amongst their parts. A significant trait of their style was consistency. Their approach, when parts had conflicting slurs, was to assume parts with fewer or shorter slurs should be modified to match parts with more or longer slurs. When they did this in the *Introduzione* they ended up altering Beethoven's asynchronous bowings. On the other hand, in the Menuetto, due to the nature of the publisher's errors, this procedure of matching bowings, generally to the part with the longest slur, worked to Beethoven's benefit, in that these musicians came to an interpretation which nearly matched what Beethoven had written, despite the sloppy parts.

It is obvious that this 1836 performance was a carefully prepared reading, informed by clear musical and expressive intentions. With the general dearth of surviving contemporaneous performance material from late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century chamber music, these parts to op. 59, no. 3 provide a window onto an otherwise hidden world. Thorough examination of the Bonn parts shows that they document not only a particular interpretation of this quartet but record a totality of tendencies and preferences which make up a specific, definable performance style. This style shows a certain kinship to Viennese playing in Beethoven's day, especially as regards fingering, and yet it also includes trends which seem remote from the playing of Vienna in the early nineteenth century, for example the proliferation of slurs. It demonstrates the



stylistic variety which was possible within a short period of time and even within a single repertoire. If Karl Möser was the leader for this performance, the parts present a fascinating interpretation by a musician who was familiar with the playing of Schuppanzigh's quartet, which could have been the impetus for such a thoroughgoing approach, and yet this performance has its own personality. In addition to the performance practices documented, it is further possible to recreate something of the rehearsal practices which went into preparing this quartet, shedding still more light on the reception of this piece and more generally the reverence already accorded a 'classical' quartet at this time.

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**Michel Woldemar**

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**Anton Wranitzky**

*XII Variazioni per il violino solo sopra la canzonetta 'Ich bin liederlich du bist liederlich'* (?Vienna, [c.1800])

### Chronological checklist of string treatises published in Vienna (1780-1830)

(full bibliographic details given in the alphabetical list of primary literature)

- 1786 Ignaz Schweigl, *Verbesserte Grundlehre der Violin, zur Erleichterung der Lehrer und zum Vortheil der Schüler* (2nd rev. edn, 1794)
- 1787 Ferdinand Kauer, *Kurzgefasste Violinschule für Anfänger*
- 1788 Ferdinand Kauer *Kurzgefasste Anweisung das Violoncell zu Spielen*
- 1795 Ignaz Schweigel, *Grundlehre der Violin*
- 1799 Joseph Pirlinger, *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Violin-Schule für Lehrer und Lernende herausgegeben von L. Mozart und J. Pirlinger*
- 1800 Lefils (or Fils), *Méthode très-facile pour jouer au violon les sons harmoniques dans tous les tons majeurs et mineurs*
- c. 1800 Ferdinand Kauer, *Neuerfasste Violinschule nebst Tonstücken zur Uebung*
- c. 1800 Paul Wranitzky, *Méthode de violon* (mentioned in Moser, p. 231)
- 1804 Anton Wranitzky, *Violin Fondament nebst einer vorhergehenden Anzeige über die Haltung sowohl der Violine, als auch des Bogens*
- 1806 *Violin-Schule oder Anweisung die Violin zu spielen von Leopold Mozart. Neue umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe* (editor unknown)
- 1812 Joseph von Blumenthal, *Kurzgefasste theoretisch-praktische Violinschule*
- c. 1825 Vincenz Schuster, *Anleitung zur Erlernung des [von] G[eorg] Staufer neuerfundene Guitarre-Violoncells*
- c.1829 Joseph von Blumenthal, *Abhandlung über die Eigenthümlichkeit des Flageolet*

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